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## ANTI-SEMITISM<sup>1</sup>

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THE term "anti-Semitism" seems to have been used first by a German writer of Jewish origin, Wilhelm Marr, in 1879 in a brochure entitled *Der Sieg des Judentums über das Germanentum*. It is clear from this pamphlet, as well as from the writings of the circle formed at that time, the Antisemiten Liga, that the word was intended to describe a movement directed not so much against the Jewish religion as against the race, nationality, and culture of the Jews, depicted as an oriental group of Semites, sunk in materialism and seeking to dominate the world and especially the world of *Germanentum*. In the sense of an antagonism between "Semites" and "Aryans," anti-Semitism is thus a recent phenomenon and not applicable to hatred of the Jews in former epochs. The hatred itself is, however, very ancient. There are indeed writers who think that the anti-Jewish feelings in the ancient, medieval, and modern periods differ radically in their nature. But, in view of the fact that we can recognize in all periods an intermingling of the same elements, though in different proportions, religious antagonism, hatred of the stranger, national rivalry, economic competition, the resemblances are probably greater than the differences, and there is thus sufficient unity of character in anti-Jewish movements of different periods and areas to justify comparative study.

Is the attitude of hostility to Jews to be interpreted as a special case of phenomena familiar in the relations between groups? Is the treatment of the Jews simply one instance of the relation of minorities to dominant majorities? Is it just a case of the intolerance of strangers, or of competitive struggle between groups? These are the questions which a broad survey of the facts suggests.

In approaching these questions it is necessary to make certain distinctions. We must distinguish first between the attitude of dislike for the Jews and the reasons which are given for it. The latter are of astonishing variety, ranging from the charges of predatory business habits, meanness, and aggressive pushfulness made by the man in the street to the elaborate racial theories of the academic anti-Semites. We must also, I think, distinguish different degrees of intensity of the feeling of hostility which may almost amount to a difference of kind. There is the mild dislike felt by many who have no personal experience of Jews at all and who have simply absorbed the attitudes prevalent in their circle. There is the paranoiac or paranoid hatred felt by others which is rationalized by theories of Jewish world power and influence and which the outside observer must regard as pathological in character.

The milder forms of anti-Semitism exhibit the characteristics which we are wont to group as prejudices. By this I do not mean to assert that the beliefs concerning Jews which are entertained by those who dislike them necessarily contain no grain of truth, but rather that these beliefs are of the nature of pre-judgements, *Vorurteile*. Qualities are attributed to Jews not on the basis of direct experience, but rather because they are the qualities which the name Jew suggests, which one expects to find in Jews. The structure of the judgements on which these beliefs are founded is easy to disentangle. They are based on (i) *generaliza-*

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tion or the attribution to Jews in general of offensive qualities in fact noted in a few; (ii) *specification* or the labelling of certain qualities as specifically Jewish which are in fact common among many other people, e.g. vulgarity, pushfulness; (iii) *omission* or the tendency to overlook desirable qualities in the Jew, to regard them as exceptional when they cannot be ignored or at least to refuse to regard them as "typical" when they have at least as much claim to be considered typical as the unfavourable qualities; (iv) *discrimination* or the tendency to condemn certain acts when committed by Jews which perhaps would not be noted or would be condoned when committed by others, e.g. when similar acts are condemned as sharp practice in the one case but regarded as a clever trick in the other, or when Jewish capital is depicted as destructive and Aryan capital as creative. There is finally (v) *calumny*, e.g. when Jews are charged with offences of which they are completely innocent, as in the various blood libels or the more modern stories of schemes of world domination.

With the mass of judgements thus built up are interwoven many others designed to make them more coherent and systematic. This again takes place in accordance with well-known psychological tendencies. There is in many people a desire to be able to claim rational grounds for their beliefs, especially when their cherished convictions meet with reasoned opposition. In this way beliefs which may have very little rational ground are supplemented by other beliefs formed *ad hoc* and constitute with them a system extremely difficult to shake. Familiar example of this process can be given from the history of religious beliefs, where we often find that beliefs accepted on authority tend to be justified by further beliefs in the infallibility and complete reliability of the authorities.

The mass of beliefs concerning the supposed characteristics of the Jews is often accepted by Jews themselves. Jewish writers have drawn attention to this phenomenon and have spoken of Jewish anti-Semitism and even of "self-hatred." These terms are applied, not only to those who have left their people and turned into its bitter enemies, but to many others who consciously or unconsciously share the repugnance which non-Jews feel to Jews, or who out of love for their people are anxious to rid their people of the faults ascribed to them and who adopt in their criticisms many of the unwarranted generalizations about Jews current in the environment in which they have been brought up. The tendency towards the disparagement of one's own group is common in oppressed minorities. This is especially so in the case of the "marginal" members, i.e. people who have come under the influence of other groups than the group in which they originate but are still deeply though often unconsciously attached to that group. In such cases the individual tends to adopt the hostility which he finds in his environment and uses it as a means for attaining liberation from his inner conflict (1).

I have so far spoken of a mass of beliefs or judgements which have gathered round the name of the Jew and have indicated their logical structure. It is clear, however, that this body of beliefs would neither have persisted nor had any effective influence on behaviour if it were not linked with emotional drives due to underlying tension and conflict. The hostility to Jews is clearly a form of group rivalry. A vulgar *nouveau riche* Jew is not despised merely as an individual but as representative of Jews in general. Economic rivalry between Jews and non-Jews would cause no more bitterness than normal business competition between individuals if the Jew were not regarded as a "stranger." The fundamental problem is therefore why the Jew has remained a "stranger" even in

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countries where he has been settled for a thousand years. This raises the further question, What sort of a group the Jews are? That they are not a race in any precise sense of the word is now generally admitted. Whether they are a nation or not depends to a large extent on the way we define "nation." I doubt whether a term that is applied to peoples of such differing social structure as, say, Belgium, Switzerland, Britain, the United States of America, is very useful in defining an entity whose status is so disputed as that of the Jews. The problem of Jewish nationhood becomes practically important only when discussing the desirability or possibility of giving the Jews independent political status in a country of their own. But whether they are a nation or not, the Jews are certainly a body of people who feel bound to one another, to whatever historical factors this bond of union may be due. There are some who think that in ancient times the Jews were a nation, though even then the source of their unity was primarily religious in character, that with the dispersion the sense of nationality was lost, while that of religious unity remained; that modern Jewish nationalism is not the latest expression of an inner development, but the product of modern conditions. Modern Jewish nationalism is on this view European nationalism applied to the Jews, inspired and sustained by anti-Semitism, in itself, in its modern form, a product of nationalism (2). Opposed to this view is the theory best represented by the well-known Hebrew writer Ahad Ha-am (3). He maintains that religion is only one of the ways in which the Jewish will to live has expressed itself. The Jews did not survive because of their religion; in order that they might survive, their religion developed in a certain way. It moved from polytheism to monotheism after the dispersion because there was need for a belief in a universal God ruling over all the nations. The stress which later Judaism laid on inner life and the rules which sought to regulate all spheres of the outer life became necessary to prevent the disintegration of the Jewish community. The theory that the Jews have a special mission to teach the peoples among whom they are dispersed the principles of ethical monotheism provided a convenient formula to those Jews who had adopted the culture of other peoples but could not quite rid themselves of their ancient attachment to their own people. The modern nationalist revival is on this view due to the realization that the emancipation of the Jews secured in modern times had not in fact solved the Jewish problem. In short, the Jewish will to live is deeper than any of its particular manifestations. The theory is given a biological flavour which raises doubts. It is difficult to believe that the attachment to a socially conditioned group like a people can be due to a specific instinct, genetically transmitted. But apart from this point, not, I think essential to the theory, there is more to be said for it than for the opposed view which regards the Jews as nothing but a religious community. There can be no doubt that it is through religion that the Jews have survived as an entity, but the bond that held them together was always more than a religious bond, whether it was of the kind to constitute them a "nation" or not. In the dispersion the Jews were certainly not political nationalists. They did not aim at establishing a separate political unit or even self-contained colonial settlements. They felt that they were bound to continue as a group within other political units and not themselves a political unit. The term "nation" does not perhaps adequately describe the historical unity of the Jewish people, but neither does the term "religious community." They are an ethnic group with a structure which resembles in some respects the structure of other ethnic minorities, but with peculiarities which give them a character of their own.

To understand the nature of these peculiarities it would be necessary to survey the whole field of Jewish history, but there are a number of points which stand out fairly clearly. In the first place the dispersal of the Jews is world-wide. They are to be found as minorities small or large in all parts of the world, but nowhere have they a centre which can be called their own. Since there is a bond of union between the Jews of different countries, though this is not as effective in practice as their enemies suppose, the Jews of any one country, even though they be regarded as nationals of that country, are regarded also as members of a wider group—the Jewish people. In the second place, throughout the greater part of their history, whatever may be the case now or in the future, the Jews were not willing to lose their identity as a people. The driving power in this connexion was undoubtedly religion. It is fashionable now to explain all social phenomena in economic terms, but economic forces alone would long ago have broken up the unity of the Jewish people. After the collapse of Rome and during the period of the formation of the European peoples, there was nothing from the economic point of view to prevent the Jews from taking part in the general process of development and being absorbed in the social structures that were emerging. The root of Jewish isolation was the Jewish religion. In the ancient world the Jews stood for an imageless, non-mythological religion which was unintelligible and mysterious to the pagan peoples around them. In the Christian era they aroused the bitter hatred of the Christians, who could not understand their obstinate refusal to accept Christianity and who resented their arrogant belief in the superiority of Judaism. The strength of the Jewish faith was such that none of the forces making for assimilation were able to shake it. Whatever the explanation, it is an historical fact that the Jews were at no time moved to accept, in any numbers, the religion of the peoples among whom they lived, however ready they were to accept other elements of alien cultures. The distinctiveness and intensity of their faith strengthened the feeling of unity among the Jews, and they came to regard themselves and were regarded by others not merely as a religious community but as a people, a people moreover that “dwells apart” and does not “belong” to the peoples among whom it is dispersed. Jewish history thus presents the unusual phenomenon of a people living within other peoples and yet retaining its identity. Migration, dispersal, infiltration, conquest, are common enough, but it is rare for the incoming group to survive as a distinct entity. It is difficult to account for this save by the strength of the faith in the Jewish religion as distinct and different from every other religion, a faith strengthened by persecution, upheld by a powerful religio-legal discipline, and producing or strengthening a bond of union which survives even among those over whom religion has lost its hold. Until the end of the eighteenth century the bulk of the Jews lived everywhere a life of their own, segregated in various degrees from the surrounding peoples by restrictive laws imposed from without and by the need for cohesion and solidarity felt within. The ghetto, it has well been said, was the land of a people without a land. Though the Jews had been Europeans since Roman times, they were everywhere regarded as strangers and wanderers, hated and despised, deprived of the legal rights which they had earlier enjoyed as Roman citizens, dependent on the whims of rapacious “protectors.” Economic rivalry drove them out from most occupations save those despised or not desired by others. The feudal authorities drove them from the land and the burghers from trades and handicrafts. Thus the normal incorporation of the Jew within the community was made impossible. The image of the Jew as a



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parasite, living on the productive work of others, ever pushing himself into spheres to which he had no right, was created and added to the causes of hatred implanted by religious fanaticism. The suspicion of the stranger, economic rivalry, and religious fanaticism combined to form a fertile soil for other antagonisms and to provide an outlet for hate and aggression originating in causes not in themselves connected with Jews. It is a well-established generalization that in all countries where Jews have lived in any numbers there is a tendency for them to be blamed for any troubles that may arise. The isolation of the Jew was deepened by persecution and restrictive laws of various kinds, and, thus deepened, generated further antagonisms. The arguments between those who maintain that the hatred of the Jews is due to their obstinate refusal to assimilate with the peoples among whom they live and those who maintain that the hatred is the cause of Jewish particularism are very unreal. Isolation may have been originally due to inner needs, but discrimination tends to produce further defensive isolation, and this, in turn, encourages further discrimination.

Next in importance and closely connected with the wide range of the Jewish dispersion and the persistence of the will to survive as a people despite the dispersion is the character of Jewish migration. This is a subject that has never been adequately explored. The difference in cultural level between the country of origin and the country of settlement is of the greatest significance, and a thorough study would be of great value for the light it might throw on problems of culture contact in general. Here only a few points can be referred to. The Jewish immigrant brings with him differences in manners, speech, and so forth, and so keeps alive the notion of Jewish distinctiveness. The fact that migration may occur in recurrent waves produces a feeling of distance between the long-settled Jews and those of recent origin and at the same time hinders absorption. It is to be noted that in countries not subjected to waves of immigration, for example in Italy, the assimilation of the Jews proceeded apace. The economic factor is of great importance in this connexion. The immigrant is often accused of lowering the standard of life of the native worker. On the other hand, if he is ambitious and establishes himself in higher positions, he arouses jealousy and is regarded as a vulgar climber. Often he is a vulgar climber, and, in any case, he brings with him new ways of life and is apt to upset existing class alignments. Group prejudice is then complicated by class prejudice.

The situation is often further complicated by the presence of other minorities. Of the conflicts thus arising there are several varieties. Illustrations may be found even in the world of antiquity. Thus in Alexandria hatred of the Jews, to whom on the whole the Romans were friendly, was instigated by the Greeks, who worked out a pattern, later to be repeated with greater elaborateness, based on a combination of economic rivalry and religious antagonism. In the modern world the relations are of course far more complex. Only a few instances can here be given. In Czarist Russia the Jews lived on the whole in areas which though under the political domination of the Russians were not Russian in culture, e.g. Poland, Lithuania, White Russia. From the point of view of the possibilities of assimilation, the situation presented great difficulties. The attempt made now and again to Russify the Jews was bound to fail in view of the fact that the normal environment in which great masses of Jews lived was not Russian. On the other hand, the culture of the other subject populations was not such as to attract the Jews, and in fact appears to have exercised very little influence on them. In the Austrian Empire the situation varied from case to case. In the German

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parts of Austria and also Hungary the culture of the politically dominant group was the same as the culture of the masses of the people, and this facilitated Jewish absorption and assimilation. In other parts of Austria the Jews were torn between their attachment to German culture and the demands of the social environment which was not German. The Jews thus frequently found themselves between the hammer and the anvil. If they sided with the politically dominant power, they were blamed by the oppressed peoples. If they sided with the latter, they were accused of encouraging revolution. Thus both cultural and political factors were frequently unfavourable to the assimilation of the Jews (4).

The distribution of occupations among Jews has, as is well known, certain peculiarities and is generally different from that which prevails among the peoples in whose midst they live. To see in the peculiarities of occupational structure a primary cause of anti-Jewish feeling seems to me to be unreasonable. This feeling already existed at a time when the occupational structure of the Jews differed little, if at all, from that of other peoples, and the hatred showed itself in fact in the persistent efforts to prevent the Jew from engaging in the productive occupations. There is good reason for the view that Jews, like other struggling minorities, have often been compelled to choose occupations neglected or despised by others or to invent new ones (5). The abnormalities of economic structure are thus an effect rather than a cause of anti-Semitism. Yet once produced, they hinder the normalization of Jewish social life and thus serve to foster anti-Semitic feelings (6).

In estimating the effect of the emancipation of the Jews which in West and Central Europe was attained by the middle of the eighteenth century, it is important to bear in mind the following points. Firstly, emancipation began in countries like France and England, where the number of Jews was small and the feeling against them was based on old memories rather than conflicts rooted in contemporary social conditions. Even so, it is maintained by many that anti-Semitism lingered among the masses, ready to be aroused in moments of national excitement. Secondly, in the areas where there were large Jewish populations, emancipation came much later and very frequently through external influence or intervention (Rumania, Congress of Berlin 1887, Algiers, Law of Cremieux, Minorities Treaties of 1919, etc.). With the exception of Soviet Russia, the Jews of Eastern and South-eastern Europe owe their civic rights to foreign intervention, and emancipation took a form other than it would have done had it arisen from within. It should be remembered that in these areas the problem of Jewish-Gentile relations is far more complex than in Western Europe, owing to the large numbers involved and the difficulties arising out of the growing industrialization and urbanization and the emergence of a non-Jewish middle class. The solution of the Jewish problem in these areas cannot be obtained merely by the granting of legal rights, but depends on general economic reconstruction designed to normalize Jewish relations and remove the economic sources of antagonism.

If we now bring together the points briefly discussed above, we may say that the primary source of anti-Jewish feeling is to be found in the conditions which led to the Jews being regarded as strangers, living in the midst of other peoples but not of them. Historically the determining factor was the uncompromising distinctiveness of Jewish monotheism. With the religious tensions thus generated there were soon associated other sources of group antagonism. Being regarded as strangers, the entry of the Jews into the economic life of other

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peoples was regarded as an unwarranted intrusion and economic competition assumed a character totally different from that between members of the same group. Persecution deepened his isolation and discrimination produced an economic structure which sharpened the sense of his peculiarity and distinctiveness. The isolation of the Jew began to be broken down with the emancipation about one hundred and fifty years ago, but this was achieved only in the areas where the number of Jews was small (except for the U.S.A.). In the areas of great Jewish density the Jews continued to live in communities of their own; the granting of civil rights is recent and in many instances was secured from above by governmental act and under the pressure of external influence. The waves of migration from these areas of great density kept alive the sense of the strangeness of the Jew even in the West and maintained the sense of community among the Jews in the world. His ubiquity and defencelessness made him a convenient object of aggression, and his situation was further complicated by the presence of other minorities themselves in conflict with the dominant authorities, the Jews in general never being strong enough to act as a united and self-contained group.

In dealing with more recent forms of anti-Semitism three further points have to be noted. These are the growth of nationalism; the emergence of new middle classes in Eastern and South-eastern Europe, as a result of increasing urbanization and industrialization and the growth of official and governmental bureaucracies; and the deliberate use of anti-Semitism as a political weapon. For earlier periods, during which the nation-states were still in process of formation, a Jewish historian has put forward the hypothesis that there was a definite correlation between anti-Semitism and type of ethnic grouping. He tries to show that the position of the Jews has been most favourable in areas in which several ethnic groups were included, none being a dominant majority; least favourable in ethnically homogeneous states; and varying between the two extremes in states which included only part of a nationality. He thinks that up to the seventeenth century this law was operative practically without exception (7). Whatever may be thought of this interesting generalization, there can be no question that the revival of anti-Semitism in recent times is closely connected with the intensification of nationalist feeling. In Germany the revival of anti-Jewish feeling dates from the movement towards unification. In France anti-Semitism was fostered by the Integral Nationalists after her defeat in the Franco-Prussian War. In the empires of mixed nationalities the nationalists used the Jew as a buffer and scapegoat. The rise of new nationalities after the War of 1914-18 was nearly in all cases accompanied by anti-Semitic manifestations. On the other hand, in pre-war Britain and in America, where national antagonisms remained in the background, anti-Semitism found but little support. It is possible that the recent rise of anti-Semitism in the United States is connected with the emergence of a stronger sentiment of American nationality. Soviet Russia has shown great tolerance of national minorities, but whether this will continue when the vast conglomeration of ethnic groups of the U.S.S.R. has been welded into greater unity has been called in question.

Connected with the nationalist movements in Eastern Europe has been the rise of a native middle class. The growth of industry, the needs of the newly formed governments, the increasing urbanization have brought into being a new middle class apt to be resentful of the Jews who hitherto had fulfilled the rôle associated with the middle classes. Nearly everywhere in East and

South-east Europe there grew up strong movements designed to oust the Jews from government employment and the professions and even to eliminate them from trade and industry. Strengthened by the German example, the view was gaining ground that the Jews must be driven from public and economic life, though the difficulties in which Jews found themselves had already reached an acute stage before the growth of National Socialism (8).

Finally, reference must be made to the deliberate use of anti-Semitism as a political weapon. The part played by anti-Semitism in Nazi and Fascist propaganda is familiar, but the fact that Jews provide a convenient and defenceless object on which discontent can be focused has long been known and utilized. The model is provided in the movement founded by Adolph Stocker in 1878 and his Austrian counterparts. Stocker first addressed himself to the workers, but getting a poor response he turned to the middle classes, and the party originally named the *Christlich Soziale Arbeiter Partei* was renamed the *Christlich Soziale Partei*. Christian principles were said to be endangered by liberal, democratic Judaism. Jews were attacked as being at once the mainspring of capitalism and revolutionary Socialism, a line of attack which has since become very common. The Germans have found many imitators. Anti-Semitism, Bebel said, is the socialism of blockheads; it is also the anti-socialism of blockheads. The anti-Semites of Czarist Russia were already greatly influenced by German writers. Dubnow (9) has shown by an analysis of the relevant documents that the anti-Jewish agitation in Russia in the eighties was modelled on what was happening in Germany, and there is clear evidence to show that the Czarist government became more anti-Semitic as the revolutionary movement grew (10). The fact that the Jews can be so readily used as a scapegoat suggests the widespread existence of latent anti-Semitism among the masses. But this is not at all clearly established. Anti-Jewish risings are in general deliberately planned and organized and are in no sense "spontaneous."

The factors making for anti-Semitism can be generally paralleled from the history of the relations between other groups. But in the case of the Jews they appear in what is perhaps a unique combination, and they are intensified by the peculiarities of the Jewish position. Especially important in this connexion is the antiquity of the hostility towards Jews and the traditions which have gathered round it, and which are transmitted as a matter of course from generation to generation. Add the wide dispersal of the Jews, the migrations which they have been forced to make, involving continual disturbance of cultural standards and class alignments, the abnormalities of Jewish economic structure, themselves the product of anti-Semitism of the past, and the difficulties of adjustment in areas undergoing rapid economic change and liable to serious economic crises. Add furthermore the numerous factors making for the intensification of national feeling in modern times apt to lead to the view that all minorities are disruptive elements, and the phenomena of anti-Semitism will be seen in clearer light. It is important to bear in mind that in different areas or times different factors or combinations of factors may be at work, although certain common features recur with depressing regularity.

I want now to refer briefly to some recent theories of the causes of anti-Semitism. They fall broadly into two classes—those that appeal mainly to economic factors and those that rely chiefly on psychological explanations. The former is found mainly in Marxist or other socialist writings. They argue that anti-Semitism is a device of the capitalists to divert attention from the class



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struggle or a last desperate effort of the middle classes to escape the destruction with which they are threatened. Theories of this sort unquestionably find a great deal of support in historical fact, but as a general explanation they are subject to important qualifications. The Jew is apt to suffer not only in periods when proletarian revolutions are threatened, but whenever there is serious tension of any kind. This is particularly true of periods of national excitement, as during wars. The resurgence of anti-Semitism in recent times is closely related to the intensification of national feeling, and its explanation is therefore to be sought in the causes which have led to that intensification. It is to be noted further that anti-Semitic movements are not confined to periods of acute economic distress among the masses. Witness German "scientific" anti-Semitism or the movement which sprang up in France in connexion with the Dreyfus affair. Finally, anti-Semitism cuts across class divisions. The struggle is often between members of the same class, workers against workers, merchants against merchants, members of the professions against members of the professions. It is a struggle between ethnic groups rather than between social classes.

The psychological theories tend on the whole to make use of the concepts of psycho-pathology. Already in 1882 a Jewish writer in a well-known work entitled *Auto-Emancipation* put forward the view that anti-Semitism is an inherited phobia (11). This, he thinks, was developed in early times when the Jew—a landless stranger, without any roots anywhere, a wanderer among the nations—struck the imagination of the masses as a creature uncanny and dæmonic. This phobia has been, according to him, transmitted by heredity and has come to be part of the mental constitution of the non-Jew. As will be observed, the theory rests on doubtful genetics, since according to present-day theories of heredity it is difficult to see how such a fear could be genetically transmitted. More modern theories are mostly applications of psycho-analysis (12). According to these theories, the more obvious motives of group antagonism are not sufficient to account for the observable facts, and deeper causes of hostility must be involved having their roots in primitive unconscious tendencies. These deeper roots are traced to the aggressive tendencies. These indeed find some outlet within the group, and according to Freudian theory also in the formation of the moral conscience, but are most readily released when directed against members of an alien and potentially hostile "out-group." In relation to the members of his own group, the individual has perforce to repress his aggressive tendencies or to overcome them by identification or sublimation. The repression, however, is never complete, and the resulting conflicts are dealt with by a diversion of the hate impulses to an out-group. For various psychological and sociological reasons the Jew, it is argued, is a particularly apt target for displaced aggression, and for the same reasons rationalizations are easily provided and widely accepted. The theory deserves close study. To substantiate it, it would be necessary to show that there is some correspondence between the degree of repression of aggressive tendencies within the "in-group" and the occurrence of anti-Jewish outbursts. This has so far not been seriously attempted.

A striking theory has recently been put forward by Freud (13) and, in a different form, independently, by Maurice Samuel (14). The essence of this theory is that the hatred of the Jew is at bottom a concealed hatred of Christianity. "We must not forget," says Freud, "that all the peoples who now excel in the practice of anti-Semitism became Christians only in relatively recent times, sometimes forced to it by bloody compulsion. One might say that they are

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'badly christened'; under the thin veneer of Christianity they have remained what their ancestors were, barbarically polytheistic. They have not yet overcome the grudge against the new religion which was forced on them, and they have projected it on to the source from which Christianity came to them. The facts that the Gospels tell a story which is enacted among Jews, and in truth treats only of Jews, facilitated such a projection. The hatred for Judaism is at bottom hatred for Christianity, and it is not surprising that in the German National-Socialist revolution this close connexion of the two monotheistic religions finds such clear expression in the hostile treatment of both." Maurice Samuel, who develops his argument with a good deal of force, lays particular stress on what he calls the "obsessional" character of many forms of anti-Semitism, the wild exaggeration of Jewish numbers, Jewish financial and political power, Jewish unity of purpose, and the ease with which currency is given to these exaggerations. He thinks that the hostility to Jews differs in character from the hostility and intolerance shown towards any other people, that it stands in no functional relation to the part actually played by Jews in economic and social life, that there is no sort of proportion between the so-called causes of anti-Semitism and the effects. Samuel's own explanation is that the horror of the Jew, the obsession of his ubiquity, subtlety, and persistence in crime is really a concealed attack on a set of ideas which in fact has the power to move the minds of men everywhere, the belief, namely, in universal love and an attempt to replace it by the principle of force as the regulator of human relations. Anti-Semitism is, in short, an attack on Judæo-Christian morality. "It is of Christ that the Nazi-Fascists are afraid; it is in *his* omnipotence that they believe; it is *him* that they are determined madly to obliterate. But the names of Christ and Christianity are too overwhelming, and the habit of submission to them too deeply ingrained after centuries and centuries of teaching. Therefore they must make their assault on those who were responsible for the birth and spread of Christianity. They must spit on the Jews as the Christ-killers because they long to spit on the Jews as the Christ-givers."

It is true, I think, that anti-Semitism in its recent manifestations is part of a more general attack on universalist and humanitarian ethics, and it is clear that the attacks on the Jews have been used to provide training in ruthlessness and violence. But the theories in the form briefly outlined above raise many doubts. To begin with, the "obsessional" or perhaps more correctly the paranoiac character of many varieties of anti-Jewish behaviour need not be in any way connected with qualities actually possessed by Jews or with sets of beliefs of which Jews have become the symbol. They may be based on experiences which intrinsically have nothing to do with Jews, but which merely seize on Jews as convenient centres of hatred. When a paranoiac accuses judges of corruption, lawyers of being in the pay of his enemies, and imagines a conspiracy to prevent him from obtaining justice, the root of the trouble does not lie in the nature of the lawyers and the judges or the moral theories underlying legal justice. In short, in so far as anti-Semitism really exhibits paranoiac traits, the explanation would have to begin by an examination of the mental history of the individuals in question, and it is not very likely that one and the same set of causes would be operative in all cases. Secondly, I very much doubt whether the principles of universal morality have ever been so firmly rooted in the Western peoples that an attack on them could only be made in deeply disguised form. It has not proved difficult in practice to reconcile Christian ethical principles with war, intolerance,

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and violent persecution, and it is odd that at a time when Christianity is openly attacked, as it is by the Nazis, the attack on the ethics of love should have to be carefully concealed under the guise of an attack on Jews. Samuel himself notes that the Russian Communists, who, in his view, also repudiate the doctrine of "non-force," have been able to condemn anti-Semitism just because, having openly rejected Christianity, they did not need the disguise of Jew-hatred. But if this is the right explanation, it is not clear why the Nazis needed anti-Semitism. Thirdly, it must be remembered that anti-Semitism is not confined to Christian countries. It existed in Arabic Spain and exists now in Moslem countries, not to speak of its manifestations in the Græco-Roman world. Finally, during the medieval period the persecution of the Jews often ceased with their conversion to Christianity, and it would require great subtlety to interpret such persecution as a concealed attack on "true" Christianity. It is, of course, possible that recent anti-Semitism is something radically different from ancient or medieval anti-Semitism, but this, I think, has not been conclusively shown.

The psycho-analytic writers have rightly drawn attention to the part played by frustration and anxiety in generating hatred. Wherever there is widespread anxiety and a sense of insecurity and, in particular, a sense of injustice, the Jew is apt to furnish a convenient target for aggression. The causes making for such a widespread anxiety are largely social in character, the result of particular social and economic conditions. But in so far as they involve unconscious factors, psycho-analysis may help in throwing light on their nature, especially on the more intense forms of anti-Semitic reaction which are out of all proportion to the real character of the Jews and the part they actually play in social life. The milder forms of what may be called latent anti-Semitism appear to be traceable largely to traditionally transmitted antipathies. These can be roused to life in times of economic difficulty or intensification of national feeling, and occasionally still by a revival of religious fanaticism. The occurrence of anti-Semitic outbursts is a symptom of social disorganization. From this point of view anti-Semitism is thus a problem, not only or even mainly for the Jews, but also for the peoples among whom they live.

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# THE PSYCHOLOGICAL BACKGROUND OF WHITE-COLOURED CONTACTS IN BRITAIN<sup>1</sup>

By K. L. LITTLE

I PROPOSE to outline here as briefly as possible some of the psychological conditions and factors which affect the relations of white and coloured people in English society. My remarks are based and summarized from an investigation which was carried out mainly by field methods of inquiry. Data were obtained in the course of studying a mixed white and coloured community in Cardiff,<sup>2</sup> with the help (which I should like gratefully to acknowledge here) of W.E.A. students, by the use of questionnaire methods, and in the course of some two dozen lectures and discussions with male and female Service units on the subject of the "colour question."

Behaviour is a function of the situation out of which it arises. The primary and perhaps the most fundamental consideration in this respect is that a substantial proportion of English people hold antipathetic or prejudicial ideas and attitudes towards coloured people, and are averse to any fairly close social contact with them. From information, collected in the years immediately before the war, and concerning a large random sample of "middle-class" individuals and families and proprietors of guest- and lodging-houses ordinarily in the habit of receiving members of the student class in their houses as paying guests, I have estimated that up to 60 per cent. of these categories were specifically unwilling to accommodate a coloured guest or lodger. As far as this information showed, there was no appreciable difference in attitude in this respect between those with the highest education, e.g. doctors, lawyers, clergy, etc., and the rest of the sample.<sup>3</sup> The general implications of this almost contemporary situation are in conformity with the findings of R. T. Lapiere, the American sociologist, who, some twenty years earlier, interrogated 315 people in various British towns and villages regarding their attitudes towards coloured people, and used some variant of "Would you let children (your own or other white children, as the case might be) associate with those of good coloured people?" Lapiere received negative replies

<sup>1</sup> Paper read to the British Psychological Society, July 1943.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. K. L. Little, "Loudoun Square: A Community Survey," *SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW*, Vol. XXXIV, Nos. 1-4.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. K. L. Little, "A Note on Colour Prejudice amongst the English 'Middle Class'," *Man*, Vol. XLIII, 1943, No. 84. The material was gained from the files of an organization which acts as a liaison between persons, mainly of the student class, who desire lodgings and accommodation, and their would-be "hosts" and "hostesses." When these records of some 700 cases were being compiled, amongst other particulars, the "hosts" were required to supply an answer to the question *Will you accept coloured students?* In only some 1.5 per cent. of the sample was an affirmative reply recorded to this question. The following table sets out the details, but the figures below do not make any allowance for some 45 per cent. of the sample regarding whose attitude there is no specific indication.

	As per cent. of Sample.	Per cent. "Unwilling to take Coloured."
Private individuals or families		
"Landladies"	82.5	44.1
Guest-houses, etc.	11.3	32.4
	6.2	56.4



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from some 80 per cent. of his sample.<sup>1</sup> I have also obtained some confirmation, though statistically incomplete, of the fairly common assumption that English people are prejudiced more often against persons of African origin than against other coloured nationalities, and that such prejudice is generally more widespread if accompanied with the idea or suggestion of closer physical proximity. In the following experiment some 45 adult students of both sexes from half a dozen different localities in eastern England filled in questionnaires regarding their supposed reactions towards various forms of social interaction, e.g. playing a game, dancing, etc., with Africans, Indians, Chinese, and other coloured peoples. They indicated their strongest resistance in the case of the Africans,<sup>2</sup> and in the case of dancing.

The social situation is recapitulated in the economic and industrial fields, and more particularly in localities like Liverpool and Cardiff, where quite sizable

<sup>1</sup> Cf. R. T. Lapiere, "Race Prejudice: France and England," *Social Forces*, September 1928. Also quoted in *Negro Year Book*, 1931-32, pp. 376-78. In his French sample, Lapiere found only 45 out of 428 (about 11 per cent.) people with prejudice towards the Negro. Discussing the difference between British and French attitudes towards the coloured man, Lapiere concludes that "the problem becomes, then, one of determining what there has been in English colonial contacts, which have been direct contacts, which differs so greatly from that of French colonial contacts, that it could give rise to a strong antagonism in England, expressed as colour antipathy." On this point it may be added that despite extensive British participation in the slave trade, antipathy towards the African on the grounds of colour is, historically, of comparatively recent origin in this country.

<sup>2</sup> The questions asked were as follows:

Do you know personally any members of the following coloured peoples?—Africans, Indians, Chinese, West Indians, any other coloured peoples.

What do you believe your reaction would be to the idea of mixing socially, (A) being introduced to, or playing a game like tennis, and (B) dancing with coloured persons?

What do you believe the reaction in your home would be if you introduced a coloured person in it?

The replies are summarized below (figures denote number of replies received to each question).

SUPPOSED PERSONAL REACTIONS

	Know.	Favourable to.		Unfavourable to.		Favourable (qualified).		Unfavourable (qualified).		Doubtful.	
		A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
Africans .	8	29	17	6	17	1	4	1	1	5	5
Indians .	22	30	25	2	2	2	6	—	—	4	5
Chinese .	11	28	21	3	4	2	6	—	—	5	6
West Indians .	7	28	19	3	5	1	5	—	—	5	6
Others .	7	26	17	1	3	1	6	1	1	5	6

SUPPOSED REACTION IN HOME

	Favourable.	Unfavourable.	"Embarrassment."	Doubtful.
Africans . . .	12	16	3	1
Indians . . .	16	11	4	4
Chinese . . .	15	13	3	3
West Indians . .	15	11	4	3
Others . . .	13	11	3	5

Analysis of the replies in terms of the age and sex of the subjects showed no significant difference from the above. It should also be pointed out that most of the subjects, as members of the W.E.A. classes, may generally be looked upon not only as relatively well informed, but possibly more liberal in their views on matters of this kind than quite a substantial section of the population of this country.

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communities of coloured people have been in existence since 1914-18, and are in economic competition, over seafaring, with white seamen. For example, up to the time of the present war, continuous difficulty was experienced in both those cities in finding employment for coloured juveniles, particularly the girls.<sup>1</sup> Difficulties have also been frequently reported, especially in London, in finding posts for coloured probationer nurses in hospitals, and for coloured medical students to finish their education.<sup>2</sup>

In the background of this situation in England is a variety of social and racial attitudes, which lend force, in the main, to the theory Stratton has put forward, that racial prejudice is a passing outcome of a need of defence, an attitude of emotional guardedness of race toward race, a group reaction to losses threatened or experienced.<sup>3</sup> This is certainly clear in the case of female white and coloured male relations. The comment is heard that there is no objection to coloured people in England "in their own place," but that they should leave the white girls alone. The so-called "contamination"<sup>4</sup> of racial mixture and of "lowering" the race are also mentioned quite often, and the latter observation in particular gives objective point to the hypothesis that the real aversion in racial contacts is to the lowering of social status in the group or family concerned. This suggestion, according to Professor R. E. Park, is implicit in the familiar phrase "How would you like to have your daughter marry a

<sup>1</sup> Cf. K. L. Little, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-27.

Little difficulty is experienced (in regard to the coloured children) during schooldays, as they mix quite freely with the white children, and usually belong to homes which are at least equal in condition and parental supervision and care to those of the white children. It is when they leave school and desire to enter industry that the difficulties arise. . . . The industrial problem is much more acute in relation to girls, for though the boys are not so easily placed as the white boys, there is not the same prejudice shown to the coloured by male workers as by female workers. In regard to girls, the Committee are faced with a serious difficulty, as they are not usually acceptable in factories and there is only the poorest type of domestic service open to them. . . . The difficulty is not with the employers, but with the white girls employed, who strongly object to the suggestion of the introduction of half-castes. (City of Cardiff Education Committee, *14th Report of the Juvenile Employment Committee*, July 31, 1929, pp. 14-16.)

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *The Keys and News-Letter* of the League of Coloured Peoples (various). Compare the comment on this situation: "In the United States the Negro is the last to be hired and the first to be fired; in Britain he isn't even hired." In the *Negro Year Book*, 1931-32.

<sup>3</sup> G. M. Stratton, *Social Psychology of International Conduct* (New York: Appleton & Co. 1929), pp. 45-65.

<sup>4</sup> The expression "contamination" also occurs in reference to the physical proximity of the coloured man. For example, it is reported that the regular clientèle of a large hotel on the East Coast refused to occupy certain rooms because they were let one week to some coloured guests, and so became "contaminated." This situation is much more general on the other side of the Atlantic. Compare the following parallel from a recent sociological study of race relations in the American *Deep South*:

The belief in the organic inferiority of the Negro reaches its strongest expression in the common assertion that the Negroes are "unclean" . . . there remains a strong feeling that the color of the Negroes is abhorrent and that contact with them may be contaminating.

There is generally a strong feeling against eating or drinking from dishes used by Negroes, and most of the whites provide separate dishes for the use of their servants. The idea of uncleanness is also extended to any clothing worn by Negroes, as was dramatically shown when a Negro customer returned a coat which she had bought from a white clothing merchant. The clerk was unwilling to accept the coat, and when the assistant manager accepted it, the clerk said to another clerk: "This is perfectly terrible; I think it is awful. We can't put that coat back in stock." . . . She hung it up very gingerly and didn't touch it any more than necessary. (*Deep South: A Social Anthropological Study of Caste and Class*, Allison Davis and B. B. and M. R. Gardner, p. 16.)

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Negro?"<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, though W. O. Brown has claimed very convincingly<sup>2</sup> that racial prejudice is invariably rationalized, it is reasonable to suppose that the widespread assumption in this country of the biological ill-effects of miscegenation has objective as well as prejudicial force in determining individual attitudes towards the matter.<sup>3</sup>

Prejudice is expressed, also, very often on the grounds of the physical attributes or alleged physical attributes of the coloured man, and, in particular, of colour itself. Some women are repelled, for example, by the idea of the black hand of a Negro coming into contact with their own white skin. Another remark is that "Negroes would be nice if you could see them white instead of black." Chinese and Japanese are disliked because of their slit eyes and yellow skin; because they move "stealthily," and because they have an "unhealthy look." Negroes repel because they "roll their eyes," and because they show the white of the eye;<sup>4</sup> because they "smell," and because they possess "an inferior mentality." In random samples from a number of audiences the writer found that less than 5 per cent. had any previous personal contact with a coloured individual, and it was a fairly familiar feature of the above type of prejudgement that the person expressing it should classify his emotion as "natural" or "instinctive."<sup>5</sup> The alleged special sexual propensities of coloured people are also quoted. In most of these prejudices, the question of the cultural heritage and of cultural associations is doubtless important, though as Berkeley-Hill has claimed, there is the possibility of an explanation in some cases, at least, on

<sup>1</sup> Cf. R. E. Park in *Race and Culture Contacts*, edited by E. B. Reuter, p. 80.

<sup>2</sup> Brown's very lucid paper is published in the *International Journal of Ethics*, Vol. 43, 1932-33, under the title of "The Rationalization of Racial Prejudice."

<sup>3</sup> This is a subject over which even those who claim to speak with the voice of authority are likely to wax emotional, and which, possibly in consequence, has given rise to at least as much confused thinking as any human problem, often because those who are most dogmatic on it sometimes avoid the distinction between "race" as a group and highly variable concept, and the results of individual heredity. Two quotations must suffice:

It is difficult to imagine why Sir Arthur Keith, ignoring the generally known evidence of history and anthropology, assumes that cross-breeding between Europeans, negroes, and mongols, even if such monstrous miscegenation were universal, would afford "the sole way of establishing peace and good will." (Professor Elliott Smith in the *Spectator*, 1931.)

"One such absurd story was told by a young doctor to a girl I know personally. This was to the effect that if ever she allowed herself to become intimate with a Negro at any time in her life, even if on one occasion only, and later she should marry a white man, she would never be free of this taint (even though years had elapsed) and would probably have a black child." (Quoted from *Nigger Lover*, Doris Garland Anderson, p. 190.)

<sup>4</sup> It is an interesting question, which perhaps some psychiatrist will investigate, as to how far many of these "phobias" recapitulate the symptoms and diagnosis of neurasthenia. It appears as if the ordinary neurasthenic patient differs only, sometimes, in regarding himself and his irrational fears as abnormal. His "awareness" in this respect is hastened very often, as well as sharpened, by social pressure and social circumstances. In the case of colour "phobias," it is an interesting commentary on both the psychology of the individual and the social situation itself that the "sufferer" should invariably speak of, and no doubt regard, his fear as "natural" and "instinctive."

<sup>5</sup> One of *Mass-Observation's* "subjects," a man of twenty-eight, in the Forces, reports as follows:

Against my will I have an apparently ineradicable feeling of superiority towards coloured people. This may be due to upbringing, but it seems to me to be more instinctive than anything else. Only last night, in the Underground, there were two Lascars travelling, and trying to analyse my own feelings, I realized that somehow they were dirty, probably diseased. . . . Yet my reason told me that these two fellows were quite as good, clean, and healthy as I. (*Mass-Observation Bulletin* for August 1943.)

- psycho-analytic lines.<sup>1</sup> In very many school books in common use, there is virtually no mention of the coloured peoples save in the rôle of conquered and subjugated tribes, or in terms of such customs as cannibalism, polygamy, etc., which are usually repellent to Western ideology. The screen provides representations of the Negro which are rarely anything but servile or grotesque; and in not a few examples of popular literature Negro characters personify, as often as not, the qualities of virility and animalism more than any others.<sup>2</sup>

Colour prejudice, as a social or class attitude, is also a fairly common, though a less complex, phenomenon. There is little doubt that it is often explicable by the fear of the English persons concerned of losing social status and standing in the eyes of their friends and acquaintances through too obvious association with a coloured individual.<sup>3</sup> Their reaction might be likened to the hesitation shown by a fashionable or highly class-conscious individual at being seen talking in public to someone who is shabbily dressed or who speaks with a socially unacceptable accent. A girl who was asked to describe the supposed reaction in her home to the introduction of a coloured guest replied, "My mother would say, 'please don't bring those people again, otherwise you will get us a bad name.'" Rejecting the suggestion that the house next door (his own property) should be let to some West African students, another middle-class individual added the comment, "Oh, I know we are all supposed to be equal these days." Economic point is given to this type of social situation by the fact that the admission of coloured people, either as tenants or as owners, to a more "select" part of the town is sometimes responsible for lowering the value of such property. Some few years ago a request was passed round a fairly fashionable London square to keep out coloured people in order to prevent the reputation from falling.<sup>4</sup> In many leases, commonly used in this country, it is expressly mentioned that the property cannot be leased or sub-let to persons of colour.<sup>5</sup> Nor is social prejudice of this kind confined to the "middle" or "upper classes." Approval

<sup>1</sup> O. A. R. Berkeley-Hill, "The Color Question from a Psychoanalytic Standpoint," *Psycho-analytic Review*, Vol. XI, 1924. A more convincing exposition of psychoanalytic theory and cultural anthropology is supplied by John Dollard. *Caste and Class in a Southern Town* (University of Chicago), pp. 441-4.

<sup>2</sup> Compare the following:

It dawned upon him suddenly that this woman was refusing herself to him. Instantly what veneer of civilization was left went out of him. Hitherto, he had been just a drunken, amorous nigger, but now his soul shone through his face, and she saw it for the foul thing it was—a nakedly lustful beast that would know no pity. She saw the little beads of perspiration gather on his lip, she saw the great lips roll back, exposing the big dog-teeth, and then he sprang. (Francis Gerard, *The Black Emperor*, p. 152.)

The door of the room was flung open, and the fashionable negro stood framed in it, his eyeballs rolling, his silk hat still insolently tilted on his head. "Huh," he cried, showing his apish teeth. "What this? Huh! Huh!" . . . (etc.) (G. K. Chesterton, *The God of the Gongs*, Father Brown Stories.)

The educational situation is discussed at some length in a forthcoming Report drawn up by a committee of educationists. The writer has also carried out an analysis of the cultural implications in this respect of the screen, which, however, is still unpublished.

<sup>3</sup> For a further discussion of this point see K. L. Little, *A Note on Coloured Prejudice amongst the English Middle Class*, *op. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> Afro-American, 1931. Quoted in the *Negro Anthology*, ed. Nancy Cunard (pub. John Wishart & Co.).

<sup>5</sup> Harold A. Moody, *Christianity and Race Relations*, p. 7 (pub. Fellowship of Reconciliation, 1943). It has recently been reported in the Press that a company holding a large number of London flats has a special clause in its leases to a similar effect.



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or disapproval of friends and neighbours is felt no less keenly amongst sections of the lower income groups. As a boot operative, who was asked to say if a coloured person could live in his house, pointed out:

It may be thought that to working-class people like ourselves living in a working-class locality, such things as social status would be of little value, but to be cut or ignored by one's acquaintances is felt just as much here as in any other place.

Reference has already been made to antipathetic attitudes arising out of economic competition. In this respect the depressed condition of the shipping industry has been an important focal point.<sup>1</sup> Many of the prejudices also of hotel and lodging-house keepers are derived directly from the fear of upsetting their white customers. As the manager of a large London hotel is reported to have said in a recent well-publicised incident, "For myself, I don't care whether they are black or white or green or yellow; I only carry on the hotel to meet the requirements of the patrons."<sup>2</sup> Other objections and objectors take their stand on the basis of cultural differences, real or supposed, between white and coloured people. Differences in language, religion, eating, and cooking habits, and habits of love-making are quoted with varying degrees of disapproval, and sometimes approval. A woman was prejudiced against all Moslem people because of the way they treat their womenfolk,<sup>3</sup> and because of the institution of polygamy. Some people have had some unsatisfactory experience with a coloured individual, and tend in consequence to project their complaint or criticism on to every member of the offender's group. More frequent are the cases of soldiers, whose prejudice of the coloured man is based on their observation, and sometimes their experience, of him in a subservient capacity whilst abroad on foreign service.

It is interesting that social considerations, somewhat similar to those quoted above, should very often modify attitudes which ostensibly are wholly favourable towards coloured people; for example, the stipulation that they shall "keep their place." There is, on the one hand, a conspicuous and, it would seem, sincere desire that all coloured people (as an abstract conception) should be treated with

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *The Keys*, 1931, and K. L. Little, *SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW*, 1942.

Is it a nice sight, as I walk through the south end of the city of Liverpool, to find a black settlement, a black body of men—I am not saying a word about their colour—all doing well, and a white body of men who faced the horrors of war, walking the streets unemployed? Is it a nice sight to see Lascars trotting up the Scotland Road, and round Cardiff, and to see Chinamen walking along in the affluence that men of the sea are able to get by constant employment, while Britishers are walking the streets and going to the public assistance committees? (Mr. Logan, M.P., in a debate in the House of Commons, 1934, on the shipping industry, *Hansard*, Vol. 295.) In fairness to Mr. Logan it should be added that his attack is directed mainly against the alleged practice of displacing British seamen with cheaper alien labour, in British ships.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted in *Manchester Guardian*, September 4, 1943, in reference to the exclusion from a London hotel of Mr. L. Constantine, the well-known West Indian cricketer. It is an interesting commentary on the "mores" of our society that the public should feel deeply, as seemed evident from newspaper comment and correspondence, over a popular sporting figure, and virtually disregard the persistence of the institution so far as coloured people in general are concerned. The *Manchester Guardian* was prompted to make comparisons with the position of coloured people in the French Empire.

<sup>3</sup> Some very high opinions regarding the husbandly qualities of their Arab and Moslem spouses were expressed by the womenfolk in the Cardiff community.

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justice,<sup>1</sup> and on the other, an equally strong reluctance to face its logical implications, in terms of the results of equal opportunity, as well as of intermarriage. In some cases soldiers, for example, whilst urging the "liberation" of Colonial peoples, showed manifest antipathy towards the idea of having to obey coloured officers. Other sympathetic attitudes are subject to further methodological difficulties of interpretation,<sup>2</sup> as, for example, when they are displayed as a concomitant of what is popularly known as the "class-struggle." Working-class people are often ready to associate themselves with the coloured man in his rôle of the under-dog. Conceptually the victim of the same exploitative and economic agents as themselves, they regard him and include him as a member of what Sumner would call their "In-group." Thus, sometimes, by sympathizing and sponsoring the coloured cause they are able to find a vicarious outlet for their own frustrations and dissatisfactions. "A Serving Soldier Wife" wrote in a daily newspaper that "the insult to Leary Constantine is a boomerang which hits every man and woman serving their countries in this war. Is this a foretaste of the democracy to come?"

The extent to which such favourable attitudes are bound up with emotive factors as much as in the case of unfavourable attitudes towards the coloured man is shown in the warmth with which the cause of the coloured American soldier was taken up in a number of rural areas. He was "definitely preferred," and spoken of as "better-mannered" than the more "aggressive" white American. Subsequently, and with the development of social relations in their logical form, epithets seem to have become modified to a type more usual to the pattern of white-coloured contacts in this country.

Further sympathetic attitudes amongst English people are based on more obvious abstract principles, such as Christianity, and individual ethical codes. A woman observed:

It is only in recent years that I have really bothered about coloured people, because the impression we were given in school and also in church was that they were all right as a people to preach religion to, or to have as servants, but as companions, it wasn't done. . . . Surely, if God is the Father and Maker of everyone, there should be no such thing as colour bar.

A young man, a farm labourer, takes an even more idealized view:

I should like to be present at a High Mass where the priest, deacon, and subdeacon were (in any order) black, white, and yellow; and I should like to receive the Blessed Sacrament from the hands of a coloured priest. This would declare the catholicity of the Church and show that all are one in Christ.

Yet another Englishman declares with more conviction, perhaps, than intuition: "I always say that a nigger is a white man painted black." It is interesting, again, to observe how the question of intermarriage tends to modify

<sup>1</sup> Borne out most strikingly by the volume of letters received by newspapers over the Constantine incident.

<sup>2</sup> These examples also illustrate some of the obvious but often forgotten limitations of the questionnaire, as well as some of the pitfalls of direct questioning. (See Raymond Firth, "An Anthropologist's View of Mass-Observation," *SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW*, Vol. XXXI, No. 2, 1939.) R. T. Lapiere, also, provides a full and interesting discussion of the distinction between "verbal" and "real" situations in the prognostication of behaviour. See his *Social Psychology*: "Symbolic and non-symbolic Behaviour" (pub. McGraw-Hill).

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views which otherwise entirely countenance the idea of social relationships. A correspondent of the *Spectator* remarks:

To come to concrete facts, householders with opportunities for arranging social amenities hesitate to throw open their hospitality unreservedly to individuals of races who, they believe, will mistake their welcome as an implicit invitation to form attachments to their young hosts and hostesses.<sup>1</sup>

Similarly, a well-known missionary spokesman argues most strongly for "mutual respect and friendliness" between Africans and Europeans, but is against intermarriage on the grounds of cultural and traditional differences making its ideal fulfilment difficult.<sup>2</sup>

Other English people are attracted to Negroes and other coloured people for reasons which are not easily classified. With some, it is the artistic talents of various Negro exponents, such as Paul Robeson, or Negro spirituals. Not a few are drawn by the cricketing abilities of West Indian players. Others admire and are attracted by the physical appearance of Indians, Malays, and other Asiatics. With some, it is even the possibility of a facetious type of humour at the expense of the Negro, as well as his good-humoured qualities, which endears him to them. The empirical attitude in the matter is also noticed, though by no means generally, and some persons make plain their intention of viewing the matter in terms of personal rather than racial relations. As one commentator remarks:

My relations with Negroes are exactly the same as my relations with anyone else, of any colour whatever; that is, they are relations with individuals, simply.

There are no nuances peculiar to my friendships with coloured men and women, other than the allowances which one must make for any psychological variation from one's race-type; and applies equally to any friend one may have who is not of the same European race as one's self. . . .

I am perpetually reminded in conversations with Negroes that I have only to close my eyes for it to be impossible for me to discover the pigmentation of the person to whom I am talking.<sup>3</sup>

Such an attitude is typical of those English people, more particularly, perhaps, of the younger generation, who have had the opportunity of a fairly extensive personal contact with educated West Indians, Africans, or other coloured people. Particularly in the universities, so far as one can gather, the process of "normal" interactions is on the increase, and is modified in some instances only by the "older" attitudes of parents.<sup>4</sup> Concrete instances of this increase occur in the fairly recent appointment of a West Indian as President of the Oxford Union,

<sup>1</sup> Correspondence, quoted in the *Spectator*, 1931.

<sup>2</sup> G. W. Broomfield, *Colour Conflict: Race Relations in Africa* (pub. Edinburgh House Press, 1943), pp. 126-39. It should perhaps be mentioned that the postulation of wide cultural and traditional differences between Europeans and Africans does not hold good in the case of many well-educated West Indians and West Africans, and is becoming increasingly untrue in both cases. The fact that difficulties over cultural mixture within the same racial group are raised less seldom these days is perhaps an indication that the race problem is succeeding the class problem in importance in this country.

<sup>3</sup> Anthony Butts in the *Negro Anthology*, p. 549, *op. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> This point has been made to the investigator by more than one elderly Englishwoman in pointing out quite objectively that they are unable to "shake off their old-fashioned ideas" about coloured people.





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Quite apart from the question of formal education, he or she has less opportunity to learn, consciously or unconsciously, the implications and the type of social behaviour which would assist him to rise in this country.

Emotional factors, too, have to be taken into consideration. The coloured child mixes and plays quite freely at school with white children, but is surrounded with a general environment in which the inferior implications of colour are taken almost for granted. Thus, the racial situation makes an unconscious mark at a very impressionable age, and manifests itself effectively (in terms of "hypersensitivity" towards the colour question), according to the report of some school teachers, at the age of about twelve. A great deal more observation and careful inquiry are necessary before we can speak dogmatically on the exact psychological results so far as filial sentiments are concerned. Nevertheless, certain effects seem obvious, and others are likely. *Qua* his colour, the social as well as the racial position of the half-caste is intermediate, or, as Stonequist and other writers call it, "marginal."<sup>1</sup> The child belongs, in effect, positively neither to the white nor to the coloured group, but has the psychological choice of identifying himself with either. For the young child, according to the psychologists, his father and mother constitute the primary and most important foci of emotion. In the case of the "marginal" child they may constitute also, and possibly symbolize, the divergent "values" of white superiority and black inferiority. If the child has previously responded more strongly towards the darker coloured parent, his subsequent and adolescent identification with the white "values" of his mother's group may conflict with this emotion and lead, eventually, to the substitution, in line with white attitudes, of a definite element of condescension.<sup>2</sup> A rather striking example of the latter type of phenomenon occurred in the case of a child who had a lighter-skinned father and a darker-skinned mother. A "well-off" white person interested himself in the boy, aged about twelve, and adopted him temporarily in his home. The war came, the white patron was called away, and the child was sent back to his parents' home. He soon started to stay away for long periods, and eventually, after an absence of some days, was found by the police at the house of some white friends of his previous sponsor. He had explained to them that during his absence his mother had died, and his father was now living with a "black housekeeper." Further evidence of this kind of response to "prestige" adds extra point to this hypothesis.

Alternatively, if in the less likely eventuality the "marginal" child comes subsequently to identify himself with his father's racial position, it may mean resentment against the mother, and this is the more likely if the mother, consciously or unconsciously, shows her association with outside attitudes on the colour subject.<sup>3</sup>

The so-called personality traits of the "marginal man"—his hypersensitivity, self-consciousness, and alternative tendency towards withdrawal—are explicable,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. E. V. Stonequist, *The Marginal Man* (Scribner's). As a synonymous conception, the "cultural hybrid" has been exploited profitably by American students of delinquency.

<sup>2</sup> An interesting sidelight on this point is provided in the frequent complaint of Negro fathers that their school lessons have taught their children to disrespect coloured people.

<sup>3</sup> One index of the rarity of the latter type of phenomenon is in the evidence of social selection. In this country, as in the U.S., the general preference is for lighter-skinned females on the part of darker-skinned males. For example, out of ten marriages contracted amongst the younger members of the Cardiff community, nine were between white girls and young men of mixed blood. (By permission of Mrs. Annie M. Hare, unpublished MSS.)

<sup>4</sup> Stonequist, *op cit.* See, in particular, pp. 139-58.

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and of a West African as President of The Philosophical Society, Trinity College, Dublin, whilst the participation of coloured students, particularly Indians, in university sport is so well known as barely to require mention.<sup>1</sup> Again, *within* the "mixed" dockland communities social intercourse between white and coloured families is usually the rule rather than the exception, and the local white inhabitants there are often the staunchest ally of their coloured neighbours. It is interesting, too, that in Hull, where the coloured population is relatively very small, no special "problem" (a significant word) is recognized.

Summing up the white side of the picture, it is obvious that personal experience of a coloured person is a rare phenomenon so far as most English people are concerned. It is also fairly evident that many ideas and attitudes towards the coloured man devolve from a general philosophical background in which his general "inferiority" is firmly implied, even if it is not clearly stated as so. It is no less evident that prejudices are generally rationalized on the basis of the social heritage, and in many cases are not motivated by any strong degree of emotion.

We have now to consider the psychological effect of this situation on racial and familial relations, and on the personalities of individual coloured people. The white girl of so-called good family who makes a "mixed" marriage runs a considerable risk of being ostracized by her nearest kin as well as by friends and acquaintances. Her action rarely finds approval, even if it is not condemned by her white connexions, and this fact places a continuous strain on both marital and social relationships. Her position is liable to become even more acute when she bears children, and in some cases the resulting emotional and psychological tensions may have serious repercussions on the relationship between husband and wife. It is not surprising, therefore, that cases of desertion on either side directly attributable to this factor sometimes occur and lead to the eventual breaking-up of the family and the deposition of the "half-caste" children with their grandparents. Or the matter may sometimes be settled by another man assuming parentage and responsibility for the decapitated family.

The social repercussions may, in some cases, affect the mother's attitude towards the children themselves. She may come, perhaps unconsciously, to resent their presence as instrumental in her social handicap. Conversely, as compensation for discrimination against her children outside the home, she may tend to lavish extra attention on them and become in their cause as ultra-conscious as the most sensitive member of her husband's race to the implications of colour, and her own connexion with it. Thus is a further barrier to the "normal" flow of social intercourse with friends and neighbours created.

The children's position in the household, as well as outside, may be made more difficult through a similar and a further variety of causes. By force of the social and racial situation, their homes tend to belong to the lowest income level of our society. In some cases, the father possesses a rather inadequate knowledge of the English language. His cultural habits may be slightly different from English ones, and above all, through the derogatory implications attached to his race, his parental position may be undermined. The less "anglicized," less wealthy coloured individual is less likely, too, to mate with better educated Englishwomen. All these factors tend to detract from what may be called the processes of "socialization" in the case of the child of mixed blood.

<sup>1</sup> This is not to say that colour prejudice is entirely absent from the universities, but merely that, so far as can be ascertained, it is not significant.

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no doubt, in the more obvious and external context of racial discriminations. But it is possible that other traits and forms of behaviour, on which some observers are disposed to generalize, such as "apathy" and "irresponsibility," are just as much a product of earlier and more subtle frustrations in psychological development. In the kind of situation described in the preceding paragraphs, for particularly sensitive or ambitious individuals, the unconscious conflict of loyalty between father and mother may well be irresolvable. When a psychological issue or conflict is particularly intense, the only "safe" course from the point of view of mental equanimity is entirely to disregard it; in other words, in the case in point, deliberately to repress previous emotional fixations on either parent. The habit of filial "neutrality," thus unconsciously and gradually acquired, may lead in turn to a habit of detachment in other psychological fields, and to a neglect, in particular, of any arduous emotional as well as intellectual problems. In this way, perhaps, the individual concerned comes to lack, or appears to the outsider to lack, such qualities as initiative, foresight, etc., which are not usually attributed wholly to social training.<sup>1</sup>

I will conclude with some group, rather than individual, reactions on the part of coloured people to their English contacts in this country. I am thinking, in the main, of West Indians and Africans. Members of both groups live here, or come over here for the most part as merchant seamen, technical workers, and university students. Jamaica is one of the oldest British colonies, and the Jamaican is brought up to be, and is, proud of his British associations—so much so that he is apt to speak of a trip to England as "going Home." His native language is English, and the whole cultural background against which his aspirations are set is interpreted in terms of English standards and values. In the West Indies, a lighter-coloured skin is the traditional index to membership of the ruling and wealthier class, and colour gradations, broadening out from a white apex, have a general correlation with the class structure of West Indian society. At the same time there are forms of etiquette which have regard to this situation and which generally keep the implications of colour below the surface.

These subtleties are neither known nor recognized in England. Hence, from the point of view of the lighter-skinned West Indian over here, colour prejudice comes as a slur on his social position as well as on his race. To the darker West Indian it is likely, for similar reasons, to be a reminder of his association with an inferior social class. Hitherto, although the attitude is changing to-day, the West Indian tended, or preferred, to ignore his African ancestry. As a young Jamaican writer has put it: "'Back to Africa' is the slogan of a still small voice. To the majority of West Indians it means exactly nothing. They have sloughed off Africa and all it ever meant as easily as they have lost its languages."<sup>2</sup> For this reason the tendency towards, and the desire for, assimilation in English culture and society are all the stronger.

In short, it is not surprising that the implications of non-acceptability arising out of the colour bar in England should fill the West Indian with a peculiar bitterness. Rejection is the harder to bear because of the aspirations which his "English" education encouraged, and because of his own indeterminate racial

<sup>1</sup> It is necessary again to stress the hypothetical nature of the last suggestion. Its proof or otherwise calls for a great deal more data on individual case studies. It is possible, also, that a somewhat similar explanation on simple psychological lines may account for rather similar personality traits in individuals whose environmental background contains analogous, though non-racial, factors.

<sup>2</sup> W. A. S. Hardy in a *Daily Herald* article, October 11, 1933.



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and cultural position of "marginality."<sup>1</sup> It is for this reason, perhaps, that on returning home, some West Indians absolutely deny that they have met anything in England which savoured of incivility. A West Indian, who has expressed her sense of disillusion after witnessing the Trooping of the Colour in London, puts into verse what many of her countrymen have echoed in more prosaic terms:

*We, who are taught to love thee, hold thee dear,  
Think of thy welfare as our very own,  
Die for thee, honour thee, and love thee well,  
The British name, the King upon the throne,  
With eager hearts we come to our Fatherland  
To know ; with loyalty, and love and honour grown  
Out of distance. With hopes from youth held dear,  
To find too soon these hopes for ever flown. . . .*

*Oh, that she still will give us cause to love,  
Sadly we turn from all the pomp and state,  
True loyalty dies hard, and sadness leaves.  
(We do not let ourselves descend to hate.)  
We go a disillusioned British host,  
Back to the lands from which we came of late,  
For ever broken by our welcome here,  
And all the bitter insults that we meet.<sup>2</sup>*

The African coming to England has also been filled with a considerable respect for Britain, and with a desire to emulate more keenly European culture and practices. At the same time he possesses, and usually retains, a defiant pride in his own ancestry. For like the West Indian, he, too, is very much alive to the implications of inferiority which Anglo-Saxon culture casts on that name. Unlike the West Indian, however, he still has cultural roots of his own, and his ambitions, unless he has stayed for a considerable time in this country, are directed rather more towards the acquisition of fresh cultural traits than towards assimilation in English society.<sup>3</sup> Primarily, his reaction to English attitudes is very often personal, and then racial and patriotic. He is often shrewd enough to see, as young Naimbanna,<sup>4</sup> son of the Paramount Chief of Sierra Leone (and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. E. V. Stonequist, pp. 27-32, for further discussion of the West Indian as a "marginal man."

<sup>2</sup> Sylvia Lowe in *The Keys* (publication of the League of Coloured Peoples), Vol. I, No. 2, 1933. By permission of the League.

<sup>3</sup> The desire for assimilation is certainly a strong one amongst the not inconsiderable African population in Cardiff. See *SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW*, 1942, pp. 142-3.

<sup>4</sup> Compare the following very interesting report on this young man by his clerical tutor (1791-3), extracted from Prince Hoare's *Memoirs of Granville Sharp*:

The name of a person having been mentioned in his presence, who was understood by him to have publicly asserted something very degrading to the general character of Africans, he broke out into violent and vindictive language. He was immediately reminded of the Christian duty of forgiving his enemies; upon which he answered nearly in the following words: "If a man should rob me of my money, I can forgive him; if a man should shoot at me, try to stab me, I can forgive him; if a man should try to sell me and all my family to a slave-ship, so that we should pass all the rest of our days in the West Indies, I can forgive him; but" (added he, rising from his seat with much emotion) "if a man takes away the character of the people of my country, I never can forgive him." Being asked why he would not extend his forgiveness to those who took away the character of the people of his country,

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perhaps the first West African student to be educated in this country), observed some 150 years ago in the days of the slave trade, that maligning the African is often the first stage to exploiting him. For this reason, younger Africans, in particular, react very keenly to questions, well intentioned, but not well informed, on the subject of the prevalence of wild animals and even of cannibals in their native country, and hardly less keenly to a too frequent use of the noun substantive "Native," and the term "primitive."<sup>1</sup> They are alive, perhaps rather more so than most of their interlocutors, to the cultural implications of those terms and expressions as accepted amongst the majority of English people.

In their college magazine, two African students write that:

We have heard all sorts of stories about the "excessive heat" in Africa. It is so hot, one story goes, that only wood can be used in making bridges, for metal will melt in the blazing sun. There is also the story of a careless African woman who, returning from market, dropped her basket. By the time she had finished picking up the other things she had in the basket, some broken eggs, by being exposed to the sun, had become cooked! Last year we met a young missionary going out to West Africa for the first time. She was very pleased to be going to the only place in Nigeria where a piano exists, for the heat makes it almost impossible to retain a piano for any length of time. The strings apparently melt!<sup>2</sup>

It is often for similar reasons that the disharmony of colour-bar practices with official and public protestations of racial equality in the British Empire, and most particularly in Britain as the "heart of Empire," fills the African with a very strong resentment. A coloured South African writes:

The coloured races of South Africa think that the colour bar is a purely local affair and that England as the centre of Empire is the last place where it would be tolerated. The treatment of the coloured people in London almost forces one to believe that colour bar is the policy of the British Empire.<sup>3</sup>

Disillusion of this character is particularly bitter when it occurs in the case of a younger person, who, perhaps, has come straight from a mission school, and has been brought up, very often by English teachers, in the principles of the "brotherhood of man." In such or similar cases a strong interest in politics and political activity signifies a healthier "safety-valve" from the point of view of individual psychology than the symptoms of conflict evident sometimes in the more sensitive. As another African, an ex-theological student, writes:

he answered: "If a man should try to kill me, or should sell me and my family for slaves, he would do an injury to as many as he might kill or sell; but if anyone takes away the character of Black people, that man injures Black people all over the world; and when he has once taken away their character, there is nothing he may not do to Black people ever after. That man, for instance, will beat Black men, and say, 'Oh, it is only a Black man, why should I not beat him?' That man will make slaves of Black people; for when he has taken away their character, he will say, 'Oh, they are only Black people—why should I not make them slaves?' That man will take away all the people of Africa, if he can catch them; and if you ask him, 'But why do you take away all these people?' he will say, 'Oh, they are only Black people—they are not like White people—why should I not take them?' That is the reason why I cannot forgive the man who takes away the character of the people of my country."

<sup>1</sup> West African students recently lodged a protest against the title of a play, *Ten Little Niggers*, and its display with alleged derogatory posters outside a well-known London theatre.

<sup>2</sup> *The Sell*, a Cambridge college magazine.

<sup>3</sup> *The Keys*, Vol. II, No. 1, 1934.

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So far as your correspondent is able to ascertain, the African has become reconciled to the treatment of landladies and hotel managers. These people profess no ideal other than that of money-making, and if their customers from whom they derive most of their profits object to the presence of a coloured man, they (landladies and hotel managers) have no course open to them other than that of bolting the door against the unwanted.

What gives the African a shock from which he seldom recovers is when he realizes that those who boast of idealism in their relationship with him, and in whom he had trusted, have been treating him in a way contrary to the lofty sentiments they profess.<sup>1</sup>

To the English person who is familiar with the more extreme forms of racial discrimination, as, for example, in South Africa, it is less evident, perhaps, that in the official absence of colour bar in Britain, the relative "pin-pricks" in this country therefore appear personal rather than objective in their implications. A student from the West Coast explains this in the following words:

In my boyhood days . . . I always had visions of coming to the "Mother Country" for professional training. I always looked forward to my undergraduate days in London, so it was perhaps not unnatural that among my pen-friends scattered all over the world I especially welcomed one in London.

My friend happened to be a shorthand typist two years my junior, and she had her home in Acton. We had been in correspondence for two and a half years before I left my native Africa, in the confident hope that on arriving in London I wouldn't be a perfect stranger to all the eight million inhabitants, for I knew one at least by correspondence.

Within a few months after my arrival, however, I soon found out that Margaret was as much a stranger as any Fräulein in the Rhineland—a fact borne out by the fact that we have not met. . . . During my first two months, Margaret and I were still in correspondence, for soon after my arrival I had to write to her in reply to a letter of hers forwarded to me. I soon stopped writing, having come to the conclusion that the only social contact we could have must of necessity be on the basis of pen-friendship.

This young man goes on to describe how he eventually became friendly with a German boy, and how it was renewed when the latter returned from Canada after a period of internment. He concludes:

We are still very friendly. In fact, X. is the only "Aryan" among my friends. . . . There are undoubtedly several deductions to be made from these, my two earliest impressions; but as no intellectual feat is involved in making such deductions, I shall refrain. In conclusion, however, I should like to re-emphasize that they are early, strong, and indelible, and as such they will always live with me, to be passed on to posterity.<sup>2</sup>

Another student, much lighter in colour, offers his own analysis of the racial situation:

A few tentative generalizations are suggested by my experience, that Welsh, Irish, Scotch and English display colour-prejudice in an ascending order of degree; that British class-stratification goes a considerable way to

<sup>1</sup> Correspondence, in the *Spectator*, 1931.

<sup>2</sup> Documentary material. By permission.

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explain prejudice; that the larger communities—cities—tend to be foci of prejudice; that, *ceteris paribus*, the South of England is more hostile than the North; that a realization of common interests, political or sporting, for example, tends to mitigate prejudice very greatly; that British prejudice against strangers in general is merely transformed in degree when colour is the issue; that colour-prejudice is to be largely attributed to the peculiar caricature of the coloured man which the average Britisher has conjured up from his only sources of information, the Yellow Press, the flicks, and sensation-mongering travel books; that, basically, status varies with degree of colour and ostensible spending powers, not with personal qualities.<sup>1</sup>

The same writer goes on to describe how his experiences varied considerably with his contacts. He found Continental visitors as critical of the "English reserve" as himself. On the whole the "Y.M.C.A. atmosphere was friendly," but in the university he found himself from the very start "noticing deliberate little acts of what I now term 'aggression,' pointed avoidances, ignoring of casual salutations, looks, semi-hostile remarks."<sup>2</sup>

This young man makes a sharp contrast between his English and his Welsh experiences:

My year in "Y" (a large Welsh Town) was in general a cheerful one. To the average "Y" denizen I was no stranger than the "foreigners from Birmingham," i.e. the English summer holiday crowd. I can hardly say that at any time during my stay in Wales did I notice anything that I could construe as colour-prejudice. Not that there was an absence of colour-awareness. . . . I was around a good deal on my motor-cycle and I can only say that the change from London shocked me. Only among English students . . . was I ever made to feel an object of prejudice on account of my colour. . . . Even the attitude of children visibly changed as one motor-cycled from London. . . . Along A40 up to Gloucester, one could feel the tense atmosphere in town and village as one passed through; as one got into Wales, fingers were no longer pointed contemptuously and rude noises were no longer heard. The contrast was sharp; supercilious contempt as against an inquisitive friendliness.

Travelling distances with a motor-cycle meant that I put up at the strangest places for the night sometimes. In the few hotels where I did put up, I spent my time in splendid isolation. In one place where there was a small common-room in an "exclusive" hotel, my presence was tacitly overlooked by a rather charming group of people who spent their time trying to find out whether any of the others knew any of their friends. But on the whole it did not seem as if I was ever refused lodgings for the night for reasons of colour, though I would not be sure. In Hospital, the nurses were very friendly; I had to spend a Christmas there, and I was well looked after.

<sup>1</sup> Documentary material. By permission.

<sup>2</sup> See also Mary Trevelyan, *From the Ends of the Earth* :

The coloured man or girl have their own particular fear of the daily insults and slights from white people, or of walking into some hotel or restaurant and being turned out again. Underneath their good manners and charm many of these Africans, West Indians, and Indian students had been deeply hurt. Later, I was to see the same look in the eyes and hear the same chance remark from the refugees from Nazi oppression (p. 22).



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Some of the superior townfolk (it was X.<sup>1</sup>) came in to see the poor people who were in bed, and a few risked their reputations in addressing a few words to me in the style of a pukka sahib and its feminine, whatever that may be, though the rest carefully overlooked my existence.<sup>2</sup>

The intuitive African expresses disappointment at his experiences mainly because the reality of first-hand contacts with European civilization and English society have not fulfilled what they promised. He feels resentment as much with himself and his countrymen for being misled into a superficial imitation of European externals as with English attitudes towards the coloured man. This is very evident in the case of personal relations, and also in relations between the sexes, where, on the subject of racial mixture, the African attitude sometimes recapitulates the familiar mechanism of group resistance. There is prejudice against a mixed marriage because it detracts from the solidarity of the group. As a Negro seaman pointed out to the writer, it has the effect of making the coloured partner more "white" in his sympathies. An Anglo-Fanti contributor also makes clear how considerations of pride weigh in the matter:

Kwesi finds that in spite of the attractiveness of their get-up and other allurements, white girls are to him no more than a part of the white man's land. Moreover, he feels that at the back of every white girl's mind is the idea that she is conferring a favour on any black man with whom she associates. Kwesi possesses that unique African pride which is seldom appreciable by non-Africans, often mis-called insolence by white men; so he has little to do with white girls, unless and in so far as they treat him as a woman treats a man, and not as a white woman thinks she should treat a black man.<sup>3</sup>

The nature of the English situation means that individual coloured people very often do not have access to anything like a representative cross-section of English people and of English opinion. Individual and unpleasant experiences tend inevitably to augment this situation and to make the coloured persons concerned less willing to seek fresh white contacts, which possibly would modify their hardening views about English people in general. Emotive factors usually play a larger part than in the English case in the development of the coloured person's racial attitudes. Group solidarity is increased through a feeling of mutual sympathy, and for similar reasons the "colour question" comes to be a subject of intrinsic and intellectual interest. It is fairly obvious that experience of life in England acts as a powerful catalyst on the ordinary coloured "immigrant," so far at any rate as his attitude towards English people, and his more abstract relationship as a member of the British Empire, are concerned. Previously held ideas are either accentuated hastily and considerably, or entirely abandoned. Those who arrive with orthodox Christian views and feelings of respect for English culture tend to modify them very much, and in some cases to become definitely hostile. On those who were already race- or colour-conscious, the effect is usually to confirm and consolidate whatever opinion was held, and to enhance the awareness of those concerned in terms of scepticism as

<sup>1</sup> A well-known country town in the Midlands.

<sup>2</sup> Documentary material, *ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Kobina Sekyi in the *Negro Anthology*, *op. cit.*, pp. 774-9. A very interesting psychological study of a type of present-day young Gold Coastian who has been educated partly in the English manner.

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much as animosity. If relatively few coloured people develop violently anti-British attitudes over here, perhaps even fewer are likely to go away from this country with any of the sympathetic views with which they arrived. Most, perhaps, return with a greater respect for individual English people than for English institutions.

The coloured person who remains, or who resides in this country, has a longer experience of English life and social interactions, and consequently both a greater spur and a greater opportunity, in some cases, for making psychological adjustment and social accommodation. His reaction, in contacts with white people, is less spontaneous and more guarded than those of the temporary visitor. He comes, sometimes, to a rare understanding of the more subtle implications of English institutions. His attitude, in consequence, tends to be more tolerant, and even philosophical in its acceptance of external and unavoidable circumstances, and hence achieves a balance in which a sense of cynicism provides the compensating and decisive weight.

### SUMMARY

It seems reasonable to sum up the general and psychological background of white-coloured contacts in England on the following broad lines:

1. There is a substantial body of antipathy, more evident in London and a number of seaport cities than elsewhere, against coloured people.
2. This antipathy is based to a considerable extent on rationalizations justifying the inferior status of coloured people in our society. Such rationalizations are transmitted as part of the cultural heritage and are in no sense different from rationalizations characteristic of other parts of the world where, socially, politically, or industrially, coloured people are held subordinate to white populations. As in other parts of the world, emotive factors connected with economic and sexual competition also play their part in group relations in this respect. Objectively, antipathy in England is based more rarely on actual differences between white and coloured people in terms of speech, and general cultural and social behaviour. It is based to a still smaller extent on the result of unfavourable personal contacts.
3. There is, on the other hand, a steadily increasing body of interest in, and sympathy for, coloured people in this country. This is more evident amongst the better-educated groups (Sumner's "classes") than among the "masses." Its mainspring is traditional as well as educational, humanistic, and Christian.
4. Most coloured people themselves, and particularly those permanently settled here, are anxious for a situation of better understanding, but not a few find difficulty in believing in its attainment. Some are inclined to attribute English "coldness," and above all the apathy and ignorance of many English people in regard to Colonial and similar matters, directly to the agency of the "Government." This view is reinforced by two apparently inconsistent phenomena—repeated and official declarations of good-will towards British colonial subjects, and Government non-interference with the continuous and cultural dissemination amongst the public of ideas and representations judged prejudicial of coloured people, and with "colour-bar" practices themselves.

# NATIONAL STEREOTYPES—THEIR NATURE AND FUNCTION<sup>1</sup>

By C. A. MACE

ENGLISHMEN, it is said, are honest, sporting, and home-loving. Americans are talkative, self-confident, and easy-going. Frenchmen are romantic, convivial, and volatile. Germans are methodical, persistent, and orderly.

Few contrasts are more striking than that between these popular conceptions of national character and the picture drawn, in the light of the best factual evidence available, by comparative social psychologists. On the one hand we have sharp distinctions of kind, on the other small quantitative differences, and these differences often devoid of statistical significance. The popular view is that some nations possess basic qualities that other nations lack. The scientific view, broadly stated, is that all men have all traits; and, although one man may be found to have three times as much of any selected trait as another man possesses, such extreme differences are rare. All nations, too, display varied types of personality, and the differences between any selected typical representatives of different national groups are much less striking than the differences which will be found within any one such group.

There are several possible ways of accounting for this apparent opposition between science and popular opinion. The explanation first to occur to mind, perhaps, is that this is but another example of the way in which untrained thinkers are led astray through faulty observation, hasty generalization, and the influence of emotional causes. Another explanation, not at first sight so plausible, but worth examination, is that here for once the scientific instrument is at fault, and that in the assessment of personal traits human intuition is a more delicate instrument than any that psychologists have so far devised. In support of this suggestion it might be pointed out that the so-called "scientific" methods for the assessment of personal traits are at present of a somewhat rudimentary order, whilst the so-called "popular" opinions have been sponsored by experienced travellers and others who give the impression of being acute observers. Perhaps the truth lies between these two extreme views, or in their combination. Prejudiced thinking undoubtedly occurs, but human discernment may be sharpened as well as distorted by emotional causes. Accordingly, in the study of national stereotypes the problem well may be to show how the interplay of cognitive and emotional factors serves, as in a caricature, both to reveal and distort essential truths.

But what, precisely, is a national stereotype? As defined by the Oxford Dictionary, a stereotype, in its figurative sense, is something continued or constantly repeated without change. It is illustrated in everyday experience by the cliché and the conventional phrase, and in psycho-pathology by obsessive acts and mechanically repeated phrases. There are stereotyped actions and stereotyped ideas, contrasted respectively with variable adaptive actions and with variable and adaptable ideas. The stereotype has thus an important affinity with the "constant" as contrasted with the "variable" in the senses in which these terms are used in mathematics and logic. The stereotyped conception of an individual is thus a constant conception as contrasted with one which varies with context and circumstance. Now, the variable conception of an individual

<sup>1</sup> Paper read to the British Psychological Society, July 1943.

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is variable in two ways. Any selected individual changes and develops through time, and the picture we form of any such individual, if it is adequate, must vary in the same way. But a selected individual may exemplify a class; and a class of *individual human beings* is a set of beings each of which is characterized by *individuality*. They will, that is to say, differ among themselves in characteristic ways; and an adequate conception of the class must reflect these variations also. To construct a stereotype is to form a fixed and constant idea in which both of these types of variation are ignored. Such stereotyped conceptions must be in some respects inadequate for the purposes of intelligent thought and action, since clarity of thought requires a consciousness both of the changes which individuals undergo and of the variations displayed within the groups to which individuals belong. But to say this is not to deny a place and a function to the stereotype in the exercise of rational thought. It is of importance to record that although among Englishmen some are tall and some are short, a representative sample of Englishmen has been found to be of such and such an average height. In the same manner a certain importance and significance can be attached to the statement that although Norwegians are of various colouring, the typical Norwegian is fair. And what applies to physical characteristics applies in principle to mental characteristics as well. Typological psychologies are, in short, an attempt to validate a system of potential stereotypes.

There would seem, however, to be two contrasted ways in which thoughts (and actions) lose their primitive variability and tend to become stereotyped in form. The simplest of these is the way in which an originally uncertain and fluctuating impression concerning a matter of fact comes to be fixed and definite when the truth of the matter comes to be known. The process is in many respects analogous to that in which the original variability of trial-and-error response gives place to the relatively stereotyped form of the skilful act. If every fixed idea is to be called a stereotype, then a man's idea of the multiplication table is a stereotype of an ideally simple kind; and the inculcation of stereotypes is an essential feature of all education. But current usage tends to restrict the term to ideas that are fixed when fixity is inappropriate, or appropriate on other than purely intellectual grounds. It implies most frequently fixity of ideas or invariability of responses in circumstances which call for plasticity and adaptability. Its application is thus to actions and ideas which tend towards fixity in partial disregard of adequacy or truth. Constancy is of the essence of an adequate idea of any "eternal truth"; but there are other ideas the adequacy of which depends upon continuous revision. Our conception of things that change must change in correspondence with the change in these things themselves. So too must our conception of things with any complexity of nature, since complex natures are in general only gradually revealed. Both of these factors are operative in the formation of ideas concerning the traits of individuals. As the personality of a friend is progressively revealed there will be respects in which one's conception of his nature becomes definite and settled, but there will always be respects in which the notion calls for revision. Such revision, however, will generally be effected only in the teeth of resistances which arise from the factors which contribute to the formation of an individual stereotype. This is especially striking in the special case of the relation of parent to child. It is a familiar complaint of the adolescent that his parents do not realize that he is growing up. Often there is substance in this complaint. There are emotional causes for the parents' tendency to form a stereotype of this kind, and the effect of these causes



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are further reinforced by the inherent difficulties of keeping pace with the rapid development of the child himself.

Perhaps we need a word for ideas the adequacy of which depend upon their variability, and "plastotype" would seem to offer a convenient antithesis to the quasi-pathological variant, the nature and function of which remain to be defined. Accordingly, in this terminology, we may say that intellectual integrity and practical efficiency in a changing environment depend upon the maintenance of vitality in our plastotypes. The plastotype affords the cognitive basis of practical and emotional adjustment in social relations. The question is: Why do stereotypes tend to displace them? Perhaps they do not displace them, but serve an entirely different function?

Madeleine Kerr's suggestion that the formation of a stereotype conforms to the Gestalt psychologists' principle of *prägnanz* opens a promising line of inquiry. It is now well established that every mental content, so far as it escapes external restraint, tends to assume a certain kind of "good form" and that "organization is always as good as prevailing conditions allow." And some further elucidation of this tendency is to be found, perhaps, in Bartlett's studies of conventionalization. Clearly, there is much in common between the process whereby the diversities between individual oak leaves are ironed out in a conventional oak-leaf design and the process whereby the diversities between individual British farmers, squires, and capitalists of the nineteenth century were condensed into the portly good form of *Punch's* John Bull. But the formation of such diverse national stereotypes which in fact occur presents in a sense the converse operation. Factually, it would seem that the average Englishman does not differ so much from the average American or Italian. The stereotypes, on the other hand, are of very different kinds. Something more than the principle of *prägnanz* is required to account for the fact that they differ as they do, each having its own specific and unique "good form."

It is not unplausible to connect the fixity of the stereotype with the fixity of certain types of mental imagery, and to hazard the guess that, as Madeleine Kerr expresses it, the visual image would help to set the stereotype and therefore increase its rigidity. Everyone knows how obsessive and how unplastic an image can be. We all have suffered from the initial images formed of persons and places in a novel. Do as we will, we may fail to change the picture however inappropriate it may turn out to be. Perhaps, however, the causal nexus works the other way, and the rigidity of the stereotype forces the rigidity of the image. Images are not inherently incapable of undergoing modification. In fact, plasticity is the outstanding feature of constructive imagination as contrasted with the stereotype of memory and sense—and where it assumes a tendency to rigidity, this, like the rigidity of a stereotype, is a fact to be explained.

The causes, it may plausibly be suggested, are fundamentally motivational. Images, and ideas generally, are the complement of attitudes, of purposes, of conscious and unconscious tendencies. Ideas are the medium and material through which conative tendencies are differentiated, specified, and defined. The plastotype is the appropriate medium for an adaptable and fluid motivational life. Stereotypes are the medium of instincts, fixation, canalization, and sentiments which have assumed a settled and a determinate course. This, at any rate, is an hypothesis to be explored.

The evidence from psycho-pathology is not unfavourable. Obsessive thoughts and acts, hallucinations, recurrent dreams, tics and motor stereotypes generally,

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are readily interpreted as expressions of impulsive tendencies which, being dammed up and denied expression through the essentially variable and adaptable mechanism of conscious and deliberate volition, find, so to speak, a partial and constricted outlet at some leaky joint. But the hypothesis admits of more generalized expression covering many facts of normal as well as of abnormal mental life.

It is a commonplace of the textbooks that emotions are essentially of a parasitic character. They must find and fasten upon some appropriate object. Commonly they succeed in so attaching themselves by selecting from the environment objects which really possess the characters they require. But failing to find such an object, they may distort the appearance of anything which lends itself to the appropriate modification. Failing even to do this, they create the required object in imagination. The paramount control of imagination by emotional needs is now sufficiently established. The essential fact may be most comprehensively stated in what might be called the principle of emotive congruence: *for every emotion there is some congruent character, and the arousal of any emotion, by whatever means, tends to induce a belief in the existence of some object possessing the corresponding character.* Anger requires "wickedness" as its congruent character, fear requires the "dangerous," "ominous," or "terrible." Love invests its object with "charm," "sex appeal," or various ideal qualities according to its specific tonality, and reverence invests its object with holiness or mystical character. We can thus adopt the well-known dictum of William James by saying that we are not angry with people *because* we believe them to be wicked; we believe them to be wicked *because* we are angry with them. So, too, we are not afraid of things *because* we believe them to be dangerous. We believe things to be dangerous when we are afraid of them.

The principle is not restricted in its application to emotions only. It would seem to operate with all conative tendencies of a fundamental order. Every instinct invests its object with qualities which seem to justify the action which the instinct prompts us to take. To cite James again, we may say that an instinct finds expression in the intellectual life through the consciousness of categorical imperatives and of "*a priori* syntheses," and the persistence of an instinctive tendency induces us to regard these *a priori* syntheses as eternal verities, as propositions established once and for all and providing no further stimulus to thought.

Accordingly it may be said that the capacity to see new qualities in an object entails a readiness to adopt new attitudes towards it, and a willingness to react towards it in novel ways. This is the underlying emotional condition of what we describe as a scientific or rational attitude of mind. And it is the underlying condition of reasonableness in personal relations. To be reasonable is not to be lacking in emotional responsiveness; it is rather to be adaptable in such responsiveness, and not to allow specific reactions to engender permanent fixations. What is described as a proneness to hasty generalization is, in the same way, often a liability to fixations. A man who has been defrauded by a foreigner, however limited his intelligence, and however deficient his knowledge of the principles of inductive logic, is hardly likely to generalize reflectively that all foreigners are thieves. His emotional reaction, however, is apt to be of the generalizing type. He will tend to act as if this were what he thought; and so far as critical controls are relaxed his belief will tend to follow where his emotion leads.

It is along these lines that we may best seek the explanation of national stereo-

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types. The fixity of their intellectual content reflects the fixity of conative trends. But there is still much to explain. In particular we want to know why these stereotypes assume such varied and contrasting forms, and what are the contrasting trends which these diversities reflect. In this inquiry we may obtain elucidation from the study of the conditions under which they are formed, especially if we catch them at the moment of inception. In an English provincial town, a week or so ago, a queue had formed outside the door of a popular pastry-cook. The shop was about to open, and the manageress, glancing at the eager and anxious crowd, said to one of the assistants, "You can let the swine in now." As it happened, a window was open and the remark was overheard, but the consequences do not here concern us. The point of interest is: why did the manageress call these innocent persons swine? There is no reason to doubt that she herself was quite a decent sort of body, somewhat harassed and tired and perhaps a little out of sorts; and the members of the queue were also decent bodies, orderly and reasonably patient, perhaps a little over-anxious and insistent, but innocent of anything more culpable than a desire for a little luxury, and that not so much for themselves as for their children, their husbands, and their aged parents who could not go shopping themselves. No doubt the manageress, if challenged, would have agreed to this description. She would have admitted that in slightly different circumstances she herself would have been a member of that queue. Why then did she call them swine?

Surely the answer is that she was biased in her judgement by the fact that all her contacts with the shopping public were of a restricted kind. Her contacts were all in one relation. She meets the members of the queue not as parents, as wives of tired workers, each with distinctive interests and with individual problems. She does not even see them in their homes appreciating the cake that she has sold to them. She sees them only as members of a queue where all their individualities are swamped by the one temporary characteristic of here and now wanting certain things the supply of which is unusually limited. In respect of these dominant characteristics they might be compared with all sorts of things—with hungry children recently out of school and clamouring for their tea, with hens clucking round the backyarder who brings the balancer meal, or even with pigs snorting round the trough when the farmer brings the swill. Each of these comparisons would be reasonably apposite to describe the outstanding characteristics of members of a shopping queue. This characteristic may be lacking in particular significance in the general setting of a total personality, but "leaps to the eye" when multiplied in proportion to the length of a queue. But compare now the three corresponding utterances which such comparisons would evoke.

Thinking of the children clamouring for their tea, she might have said, "You can let the little dears in now." Thinking of the chickens, "You can let the old hens in." But she evidently thought of the pigs and so she said, "You can let the swine in now." The "little dears" calling for their tea, the "old hens" clucking for meal, the swine grunting for swill—the three comparisons have the same intellectual content. They differ in expressing different attitudes, and they do so by evoking images displaying the characters which are congruent respectively with three different emotions—tender sympathy, amused but tolerant contempt, and an angry disgust.

We conclude that the manageress was angry and disgusted, and her anger and disgust fastened upon and exaggerated certain human traits not unamiable

in their ordinary expression in a balanced personality, but intolerable in abstraction and when intensified by observation in the mass. One might hazard the guess that had some prowling social psychologist questioned our manageress concerning the adjective appropriate to the members of the shopping public he would have caught a stereotype in the process of formation. "The outstanding characteristic of the members of the shopping public," she would have said, "is their swinishness."<sup>1</sup>

But we need not seek exceptional examples. There is a well-established stereotype known in academic circles and the financial papers as the economic man. This is clearly the outcome of considering human nature in one special relation. And the shopping woman who lives mainly in queues is the wife of the economic man. Here we have a couple of happily married stereotypes, the man spending his day in the City and the woman spending hers in the bargain basements of the West End. Both spend their leisure hours not, as ordinary folk, in boating, tennis, and playing with their children, but in reading the advertisements in the newspapers and calculating the yields on their stocks and shares.

Once an attitude is set upon its course it selects not only the qualities congruent with its purpose, but it cooks its evidence by selecting cases. The woman in the queue has her own stereotype for picturing to herself her fellow-shoppers. She knows herself as an individual having many traits and interests unrelated to shopping. But she does not so know her neighbours. Physically they are mainly composed of elbows and their minds are mainly filled with greed, and empty of any concern for orderly procedure. She is selectively observant. She does not notice the little Jewess whom she herself has pushed aside, but observes only that more stalwart Jewess who has pushed in front of her. And so it is with her husband in the City. He has no recollection of the simple fellow-Isaacs whom he has outwitted in some business deal, but he resentfully remembers Isaacs' brother who has outwitted him. There are exceptions to the rule that we forget what is unpleasant. We observe and remember the shoe that pinches, but we treat the comfortable shoe as though it were not a shoe at all. And this process is strongly reinforced by the possibilities of classing and naming. It is the facility that we enjoy for pasting labels that is fatal. If a fellow-Briton treads upon one's corn the most that one can say is that *some* people are confoundedly clumsy—a remark that leaves the unity of the empire unimpaired. But if it be an American who does so, one is apt to vent one's feelings in an observation about "those confounded Yanks." All the United States thereby become involved and there is a consequent strain in Anglo-American relations.

Stereotypes are in general not only representative of groups, but are also formed and used by groups. Some have clearly a class or occupational basis.

<sup>1</sup> The phenomenon here noticed is closely allied to the practice of swearing and the use of obscene language, which in turn are species of a wider genus which contains as a contrasting case the free use of terms of endearment or such-like expletive exuberance. The Cockney barmaid to whom everyone is "dear" and the Mayfair pansy to whom all and sundry may be "darling" in so addressing their associates are satisfying the same inward needs as the swearing trooper. In each case the factual content of the expression approximates to zero. As the "wave" of modern physics is introduced merely to supply a subject for the verb to undulate, so these endearing or abusive epithets serve to symbolize only an empty substantive correlate to which the congruent attitude may be pegged. They provide the only language through which attitudes can be expressed. Emotions can be described only through the objects to which they are deemed to be appropriate.



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This is notably the case in the employer's conception of the average working man, or the proletarian conception of a capitalist. Such stereotypes are the simplest of abstractions, differing from the academic stereotype of "the economic man" in reflecting primarily emotive and practical relations. They approximate to caricatures. In fact, John Bull and Colonel Blimp are conceptual stereotypes embodied in concrete imagery.

The relativity of national stereotypes to a specific social class or group might become apparent if we could investigate the social circles in which they are formed and through which they are most readily transmitted. Thus most common stereotypes of the nigger would seem in the main to be derived from traders, armies of occupation, and those whose business it is to organize national labour, and they have remained comparatively uninfluenced by the conception of the Christian missionary. In the same way some of the dominant features in the stereotype of the Jew are derived from those who buy and sell, and those who lend and borrow, rather than from, say, doctors who attend to the Jews who are sick or from teachers who teach Jewish children. So, too, the prevailing conception of the German as a metaphysical builder of systems is a stereotype largely of academic origin and is sharply contrasted with the journalistic conception of the Hun. To trace these differing stereotypes to their origins would be to elucidate the distinctive relations and interactions between the nations and of groups within nations. The pictures which nations form of one another are not so much the consequence of innate intellectual and temperamental differences as of their historical relations. In the past Englishmen have gone to France for artistic inspiration, for guidance in fashion, for good wine and good food. And so they say the French are artistic, chic, and convivial. They have turned to German thinkers for what they find lacking in their own empirically minded thinkers and to German military technique for a correction of their own tendency to improvisation; and so the English stereotype to describe the German is of someone orderly and systematic. In the historical relations between Britain and America the similarities between the two countries are sufficiently broad and fundamental to attract somewhat exaggerated attention to subtler differences, and the practical relations between the two countries have been sufficiently competitive to make small differences appear of some importance. These circumstances are not without their influence upon their reciprocal stereotypes. It is not uncommon for a successful father to chide his successful son for being talkative and over-confident; and it is not uncommon for the successful son to question the parent's assumption that what has been good enough for him cannot be improved. Parental nations, like individual parents, may find it difficult to maintain a suitably labile plastotype in regard to a quickly maturing younger generation.

To summarize: the suggestions here briefly outlined are that national stereotypes—that all stereotypes, in fact—are of complex origin. They may in part reflect the residual impression of many observations. As such they are not intended as simple generalizations, but are, as it were, the qualitative analogies of statistical parameters. They serve in ordinary thought the function which in scientific thought is served by an average, a media or mode. Their chief limitation is that they do not carry with them a suitable appendage corresponding to a measure of dispersion. But stereotypes have also emotional determinants. They may in fact arise simply in consequence of the tendency of an emotion or a desire to select or create an objective appropriate to its end. As such they are the

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concrete correlates, and accordingly symptoms, of distinctive attitudes, and their fixity is the reflection of the fixity of these attitudes. They are, moreover, the product of a certain kind of abstraction facilitated by repeated social contacts in some specialized relation. They depict the representative member of the selected nation or class in terms of traits congruent with the attitude evoked by this specialized relation. Though they may be pathological in character, or at least symptomatic of international maladjustments, they are not essentially so. They may sometimes serve a socially useful purpose in relatively stabilized situations. But where they are inadequate, the fault resides not so much in the stereotype itself as in the persistent attitude through which it has been formed and by which it is sustained. The remedy lies not in any direct attempt to alter its intellectual content, but in effecting an appropriate change in the source of motivation.

# AN EXPERIMENTAL INVESTIGATION OF NATIONAL STEREOTYPES<sup>1</sup>

By MADELINE KERR

THIS investigation was started last November in collaboration with the Council on Intercultural Relations.<sup>2</sup> Dr. Bateson, the secretary, said that the object of the Council was an exploratory research into the constitution of national stereotypes. The research was to be directed towards the following problems. First, whether there was any degree of relation between the stereotype and the people about which it is held. Secondly, whether the pattern of the stereotype is related to the family pattern of the community from which the research is directed; and thirdly, the stability and variability of the stereotypes. This present work does not cover all these aims, but is a preliminary investigation of the stereotypes that English people have about other nationalities. Special emphasis has been laid on stereotypes of Americans and Russians, as relations with these countries are so much discussed and appear to be subject to much fluctuation.

There are two aims to this work. Firstly, there is the purely practical one, that if it is possible to find out about the structure and dynamics of the stereotyped concepts that one national group has about others, it may be possible to utilize this knowledge for better international understanding.

Secondly, there is the scientific aspect. Practically all of us have stereotypes about various nationalities, but no accurate knowledge about how and when they are formed and how they change. This constitutes an enormous problem, chiefly because we have no exact technique for investigating stereotypes, especially in that section of the population which most uses them both for directive thought and action. That is the vast majority of the population which does not meet, or in any case does not mix with, peoples of other nationalities.

I will not stress the question of technique in this paper, but say only that this is a preliminary attempt, which we hope to follow up with varying and improved techniques.

I have been using the term "stereotype" without, so far, defining it. In the context of this work by "stereotype" I mean a rigid mental set usually expressed in catch phrases. These sets are directed towards persons or situations about which the subject has only limited experience. Unlike an attitude which changes gradually with the development of the sentiments, stereotypes do not develop but remain ossified. Now, anything that remains ossified can only change suddenly, therefore it seems probable that when stereotypes do change it is through some sudden upset. I think the circumstantial evidence for this last statement is reasonably good, though it still must be said to be unproven.

In the case of the attitude, then, there is continual change as the subject gets to know more about the other nationality or whatever it is, while the existence of a stereotype presupposes that he does not get to know anything more about the person or objects about which the stereotype is formed. Dr. Mace has dealt with the possibility that there may be several varieties of stereotype. The writer is concerned only with the rigid type.

<sup>1</sup> Paper read to the British Psychological Society, July 1943.

<sup>2</sup> 15 West 77th Street, New York City.

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The next question is why this should happen. Why should a situation be ossified and kept apart from the ordinary dynamics of mental processes? Lewin, Zeigarnik, and Pachauri (1) have shown that uncompleted tasks tend to be remembered more easily than completed ones. Köhler and Lewin (2) suggested that anything unfinished leaves the organism in a state of tension. Perhaps, therefore, stereotypes function in the same way. A situation arises about another national group, and the snap nationality judgement is made. If the subject felt that the data were uncompleted, the tension would remain, so the situation is believed to be complete and exhaustive. Therefore I suggest that the rigidity of the stereotype makes a good form, reduces tension, and therefore reduces the necessity to do anything about the stereotyped situation, in fact even to think about it. If there is anything in this suggestion, which of course is tentative, it would seem likely that stereotypes would frequently be formed about the two following types of situation.

(a) *For customs* where the prevailing culture pattern determines the subject's attitudes so rigidly that the resulting behaviour is sometimes called instinctive by the layman.

(b) *Prejudices* with strong emotional tone leading to speech or other action with which the subject would probably disagree himself if he stopped to think, e.g. anti-Semitism.

It might even be possible to define a prejudice as a constellation of stereotypes.

So far I have implied that stereotypes are pathological. This is not necessarily so, though anything that does ossify in this way is potentially pathological. But while stereotypes remain undeveloped, and probably somewhat infantile, they need not be pathological. Food stereotypes may be cited as an example. We have all probably in the last two or three years eaten things about whose repulsiveness or indigestibility we had definite stereotypes.

I think that here there is probably a parallel with phobias. To have a phobia about cows if you live in a town has a small nuisance value, to have one about undergrounds is a very different matter. To have a stereotype that you can only eat certain foods does not matter very much to anyone but yourself, but to have stereotypes about the unpleasantness of other nationalities may be a social disaster.

For a stereotype to be brought into line and incorporated within the personality there must be integration. Now, in some cases this may be a simple procedure. For example, to readjust to certain types of clothes does not usually involve much emotional disturbance, but to readjust to groups of people to whom vicarious emotions seem to have attached themselves does seem to be highly upsetting and therefore tends to be avoided. There seems to be internal resistance to this sort of readjustment with resulting anxiety and therefore aggression.

This might account from the psychological point of view for such a pathological stereotype as that of being "anti" some nationality or other. While the precipitating causes are probably political or economic, there must be something within the individual for such external processes to work on. I suggest that this something is a stereotype which is an intellectual and emotional retardation of development of some part of the personality which can persist alongside the more mature attitudes and sentiments.



## EXPERIMENTAL INVESTIGATION OF NATIONAL STEREOTYPES

### EXPERIMENTAL

The test falls into three parts, designed to act as checks on each other. Some questions of a type which I believe are being used in the U.S.A. and some of our own were used; some of these were suggested by Dr. Mead in a circular to the Council.

*Part I* is a sort of projection test.

*Part II* is a controlled projection test.

*Part III* is a test based on a newspaper competition in which readers were asked to supply the adjectives which they thought best fitted different nationalities.

Parts I and III ought to act as mutual checks on the actual forms of the stereotypes. Part II might provide the rationalizations about the stereotypes as well as an additional check. With the exception of Part III the stereotypes for Americans and Russians only were investigated.

In talking about the results I have grouped certain questions together. In the actual test they were not thus grouped, but arranged so that there were not, for example, two questions about Americans together.

### SUBJECTS

There were 85 subjects in all. They consisted of 30 students, 24 workers, 11 A.T.S., 12 Cambridge housewives, and 8 teachers.

### AMERICANS

Americans are *liked* because they are cheerful, kind, frank, progressive, friendly, easy-going, interesting, generous, democratic, unconventional. The result for all the groups is remarkably similar.

Americans are *disliked* because they are boastful, self-satisfied, selfish, talk too much, are patronizing, too materialistic, and chew gum. Here again the results for all the groups are remarkably similar.

Bateson suggested that there might be a difference in the attitude towards America and towards Americans. As I want this work to be comparable with his on England, I therefore included two other questions: "*The thing I do admire America for is . . .*" and "*The trouble with America is . . .*"

*America was admired for* progressive ideas, democracy, independence, efficiency, lease-lend, capacity to get a job done, and being up-to-date. The answers showed little variety, except the working men tended to emphasize "capacity to get a job done" and the students "progressive ideas."

*The trouble with America is* isolationism, too mercenary, too mixed racially, too self-satisfied, too much material progress, backward politically.

In this case little difference is made between America and Americans.

Another couple of related questions suggested were these: "*When I think of America I think of . . .*" and "*When I think of the American people I think of . . .*" A most interesting fact emerged here. This form of the question seems to be a most excellent stimulus for the arousal of visual imagery. The answers are therefore difficult to classify owing to the individuality of the imagery. When the subjects think of *America* they chiefly record size, vast output, extremes of luxury and poverty and climate, sky-scrapers, cars, Roosevelt, and historic events. The tendency is roughly the same, but the individual visual images are specific. The same holds for the American people: here most subjects have visual images representing gaiety, pleasure, and speed.

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One rather more indirect question was put about Americans: "*After the war the Americans . . .*" The most typical answers were: must co-operate with the Western Hemisphere, will make the peace, will say they won it, will turn isolationist, will be more tolerant of England. The general tendency seems to be rather suspicious but with a definite wish for co-operation.

### RUSSIANS

*Russia is admired for courage, endurance, and fighting spirit, and secondly for reconstruction and thoroughness of reform and for the success of the Soviet system.*

*The trouble with Russia is lack of individuality, lack of family life, intolerance and inability to co-operate, cruelty, too critical, anti-Christian.*

Again the question "*When I think of Russia I think of . . .*" brought up much visual imagery. This was mainly concerned with snow, something agricultural, steppes, vastness, discomfort. In the case of "*When I think of the Russians I think of . . .*" two main stereotypes emerged. The first is based on the feats of the Red Army and the second a hangover from the romantic novels of the pre-Soviet Russia. The latter does not occur so often among the working-class group. Examples are: Stalingrad, heroism, revolutionary plans and achievements, Cossacks, tea, Volga boatmen, caviare, landworkers.

Again some indirect questions were asked. "*The Red Army is victorious because . . .*" The most frequent answers are: endurance, courage, good leadership, good organization, know what they are fighting for, fighting all out, fighting for their country.

"*If the British and Soviet Armies fight side by side they . . .*" Here the most usual statement is that the combination of the two armies will win the war. There are very few who suggest that there would be lack of agreement, in fact only one worker and three students.

"*There is no unemployment in the Soviet Union because . . .*" There are three main statements: the State is responsible; as the country is undeveloped there is plenty to do; and a few who say the State makes unnecessary work and conceals it.

The next two questions are an attempt to find out whether English people seek actual contact with foreign soldiers or whether they prefer to keep their stereotypes unimpaired.

"*If you invite an American to your home he may . . .*" There seem to be three general tendencies:

- (a) they would be good company;
- (b) they would come too often;
- (c) they might feel grateful but not enjoy it.

(Other examples are they talk about food, want to do the cooking, I've had some, become one of the family.)

"*I do not like to offer hospitality to foreign soldiers . . .*"

The following are typical answers:

"We are slow to understand others."

"They are rather a mixed group."

"I haven't the rations and my husband is serving overseas."

"You can never be sure of anyone these days."

Several said they thought the soldiers might be bored or insulted if asked.

## EXPERIMENTAL INVESTIGATION OF NATIONAL STEREOTYPES

Two questions were asked as to where the subjects got their knowledge about America and Russia. The main sources were said to be as follows. For America, 20.2 per cent. got their ideas from books, 28 per cent. from films, 17.9 per cent. from newspapers, 10.9 per cent. from the radio, and 23.6 per cent. from meeting Americans. For Russians, 28.5 per cent. got their ideas from books, 17.1 per cent. from films, 34.1 per cent. from newspapers, 7.9 per cent. from the radio, 7.9 per cent. from plays, and 4.5 per cent. from meeting Russians.

The next two questions asked whether the subjects would or would not like to live in the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. They were not good questions, as few people want to live permanently in a country other than their own. In the case of the U.S.A., 42.4 per cent. said they would like to live there, 18.6 per cent. would like to temporarily, and 39 per cent. that they would not like to live there. In the case of the U.S.S.R., 33.4 per cent. would like to live there, 3.5 per cent. would like temporarily, and 63 per cent. would not like to at all.

Subjects would like to live in the U.S.A. because of the variety of scenery and of people, modern conveniences, the climate, and because Americans are cheerful and up to date. They would dislike to live there because the people are hard and artificial and not homely, life is too fast, and because of unemployment.

Subjects would like to live in the U.S.S.R. because of new conditions, to see how it works, because it has a great future, because of equal opportunity, because their way of living is superior to ours. They would not like to live there because of the climate, lack of individualism, the standard of living is low, don't like communism, don't believe in equality.

In both cases there is an age difference, the younger people being more experimental. In the case of the U.S.S.R. the working men are more eager to try.

Parts I and III of this questionnaire can be conveniently taken together. In Part I the subjects can write freely about "typical" Englishmen, Americans, and Russians. The questions are:

*"If you were asked by a foreigner what the character of a typical Englishman is like, what would you say?"*

*"What do you think the typical American man is like?"*

The seven most popular adjectives for each nationality will be given. Englishmen are reserved, honest, sporting, kind, home-loving, suspicious of foreigners; Americans are talkative, boastful, self-confident, easy-going, kind, fast-moving, ambitious. Russians are industrious, brave, cruel, strong, musical, loyal, excitable.

Besides "typical" English men the subjects were asked to describe typical English, American, and Russian women. English women were said to be home-loving, reserved, kind, a good worker, sympathetic, practical, and conventional. American women were said to be smart and well dressed, gay and cheerful, practical and efficient, fond of pleasure, sophisticated, kind, with interests outside the home. Russian women were hard-working, brave, enduring, determined, did a man's work, were home-loving, and not very feminine.

It is interesting that in the case of the women the sex stereotype seems to overcome the national one. The female stereotype in all cases seems to be variations on a central theme, the Anglo-American stereotype of femininity. Some subjects even said that women were the same all the world over.

Part III of the questionnaire was suggested by Dr. Mace and is based on the

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results of the newspaper competition. Readers had been asked to find the most suitable adjectives for various nationalities. A list was compiled from these answers and some opposites of those adjectives given were added. More nationalities were used besides those from Parts I and II. This part of the test was done by 70 subjects.

The most popular adjectives for English people were sporting, humorous, kind, reserved, undemonstrative, honourable, and tolerant, in order of popularity. For Americans the order was confident, sporting, cheerful, boisterous, kind, hearty, and humorous. For Russians it was tough, practical, efficient, earnest, steadfast, keen, and methodical. The order for Germans was efficient, methodical, practical, cruel, orderly, arrogant, and earnest. For Italians it was romantic, fiery, volatile, happy-go-lucky, unpractical, dreamy, and convivial. For the French it was romantic, fiery, convivial, volatile, debonair, humorous, and happy-go-lucky. For Jews it was wily, crafty, practical, efficient, cautious, materialistic, and methodical.

As well as ticking the most appropriate adjective the subjects were also asked to indicate which they thought the most inappropriate. The following adjectives were considered the most inappropriate: cruel, fiery, and wily for English people; reserved, cruel, and modest for Americans; unpractical and irresponsible for Russians; happy-go-lucky, debonair, for Germans; reserved, undemonstrative, for Italians; undemonstrative, solid, and reserved for French people; and unpractical, irresponsible, and happy-go-lucky for Jews.

If the subjects were trying when they answered this part of the test, there ought to be high inverse correlations between the number of times each adjective was said to be appropriate or inappropriate. This was found to be so. The following correlations were obtained by the ranking method. The  $\rho$  is between the number of votes each adjective got as being specially appropriate or inappropriate.

English	$\rho = -0.849$	PE $\pm 0.014$
Americans	$\rho = -0.863$	PE $\pm 0.013$
Russians	$\rho = -0.743$	PE $\pm 0.024$
French	$\rho = -0.897$	PE $\pm 0.009$
Jews	$\rho = -0.836$	PE $\pm 0.015$
Germans	$\rho = -0.777$	PE $\pm 0.003$
Italians	$\rho = -0.765$	PE $\pm 0.022$

It is perhaps interesting that the lowest correlations are those relating to nationalities about which the public has been asked to change its opinion since the war.

The subjects had been asked whether they had met many, few, or no Russians and Americans. So few had met any Russians that these results were not worth consideration. However, with Americans the case was different. Of the 70 subjects who did the adjectives test, 13 had met many Americans, 46 had met few, and 11 no Americans. An attempt was made to see if the distribution of adjectives in these groups varied. The differences were negligible, except for the words tough and honourable. Seven of those who knew no Americans said they were tough, while only two of those who knew many said this. Six of those who knew no Americans said they were honourable, while only two of those who knew many said this. These figures are obviously not large enough to be statistically significant.



## EXPERIMENTAL INVESTIGATION OF NATIONAL STEREOTYPES

The subjects were also asked whether they had been abroad or not. They were then divided into those who had and those who had not, and the distribution of most appropriate adjectives found for English, French, Germans, and Italians. In the majority of cases only small differences were found, but one very interesting fact emerged. The largest differences between the two groups were generally found for some of the most popular adjectives for each of the nationalities. Large differences were arbitrarily taken to be those exceeding a difference of ten. Such differences were obtained for the following nationalities. For the English, kind, sporting, practical, steadfast, cautious, keen, cool, undemonstrative, cheerful, honourable, and modest; for the French, fiery and volatile; for the Germans, practical, efficient, and solid; for the Italians, fiery, happy-go-lucky, romantic, and unpractical. The interesting fact mentioned above is that it is the group that has been abroad that, with two exceptions, is the group that votes so highly in favour of the stereotyped adjectives. The two exceptions are votes of 1 to 11 for the French being dry, and 0 to 20 for Italians being wily. This result is at first surprising, though as the majority of the subjects stayed for under six months in the countries they visited, it does not contradict the theory that stereotypes are based on inadequate knowledge.

### CONCLUSIONS

1. As there is consistent voting in favour of certain adjectives and descriptions of the various nationalities investigated, it seems probable that the subjects have produced these descriptions from stereotypes.

2. According to the subjects, these stereotypes are chiefly formed from books, newspapers, and films, and in the special case of the Americans from soldiers in this country. It is of course possible, if not probable, that the formation of some of the stereotypes is due to unconscious factors.

3. The theory that stereotypes change suddenly rather than develop gradually is not proved, but there seems to be a certain amount of evidence for it if the stereotypes about the Russians are examined. A study of the press reports about the efficiency and staying power of the Red Army before it began to win illustrates this.

4. There is surprisingly little difference in the stereotypes of the different social groups, though the numbers are not big enough to be statistically significant.

5. The high inverse correlations of the most appropriate and the most inappropriate adjectives shows that the subjects were not answering at random.

6. The stereotypes seem to be emphasized when slight, and probably inadequate contact is made with people of other nationalities.

7. There appears to be some relationship between stereotypes and visual imagery. It is possible, though as yet unproved, that visual imagery would help, so to speak, to set the stereotype and therefore increase its rigidity. One possibility is that if one has a visual image of a situation, tension is relieved, and so a stereotype could, though not necessarily would, be formed.

### REFERENCES

- (1) A. R. Pachauri, "A Study of Gestalt Problems in Completed and Interrupted Tasks," *British Journal of Psychology*, XXV, January 1935, p. 365.
- (2) W. Köhler, *Gestalt Psychology* (London, Bell, 1930), pp. 254-67.

# WILFRED TROTTER'S "INSTINCTS OF THE HERD IN PEACE AND WAR"

By R. W. CHAPMAN

**W**ILFRED TROTTER, the great surgeon who helped to save George the Fifth's life, died in November 1939, aged sixty-seven. His outstanding book, published in 1916, falls historically and bibliographically into three parts: (1) the first two essays in the book (pp. 1-66 of the first edition); (2) the main part; (3) the "Postscript" of 1919.

(1) In 1905 (or thereabouts) Trotter wrote an essay which he called "Herd Instinct and its Bearing upon the Psychology of Civilized Man." The essay was designed as one; but because of its bulk it was abridged, and was published in *THE SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW*, July 1908 and January 1909, as two articles, "Herd Instinct and its Bearing on the Psychology of Civilized Man" and "Sociological Applications of the Psychology of Herd Instinct."

(2) The main section (pp. 66-213) was written, evidently at heat, in the autumn of 1915 and published, with a revised version of the earlier articles, by Fisher Unwin in February 1916. The Preface occupies pp. 5-8.

(3) The post-war "Postscript" (pp. 214-259) and a second Preface (p. 8) first appeared in 1919.

This was the fourth impression (the book was twice reprinted in 1917); later reprints were in 1920, 1921, 1922, 1923, 1924, 1926, 1930. Then comes a significant gap. The 'thirties had forgotten the hard lessons of the past and Trotter's book was neglected. The book went out of print in 1937 and was not reprinted until 1940, when two impressions appeared. The total number of copies printed to that date was about 20,000. The present publishers are Messrs. Benn.

I turn now to the pre-history of the three sections.

(1) Of the first section there survive: (a) large parts of a manuscript of c. 1905, differing widely from the later version; (b) the typescript which was copy for *THE SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW* articles; (c) offprints of those articles, corrected (but not very substantially) in 1915 for the book; (d) page-proofs, see below.

(2) The original Preface and the main text exist in (a) the MS., which is complete except for the paragraphs on pp. 209-211 of 1916 (see below); (b) typescript; (c) paged proofs. These are hardly at all corrected, and it is safe to assume that an earlier set existed, probably in galley. The page-proofs, however, are not identical with the edition of 1916. The latter part especially Trotter must have corrected a good deal at or near the eleventh hour. In particular the semifinal section (the seven paragraphs which begin on p. 209 of 1916 and later editions, and end with the rule on p. 211) was substituted for a shorter passage of three paragraphs.

(3) Of the second Preface and of the Postscript nothing has survived. But of the Index, which was first added in 1919, a typescript of part (Age-Conscience) exists, which is on notepaper engraved "101 Harley Street." This shows that the Index, which is very brief, was made by Trotter or under his supervision, not by the publisher. (The typed index is rough; it is not accurately alphabetized, and the wording is not the same as that of the print.)

## "INSTINCTS OF THE HERD IN PEACE AND WAR"

The manuscripts have recently been given to the Bodleian, through the Friends of the Bodleian, by the author's son. They are on small quarto paper, in a neat current hand, and will repay the curiosity of future students. There are many corrections made *currente calamo*, and not a few passages which were deleted before the typescript was made. Some irregularities in pagination reveal afterthoughts.

Trotter preserved also 56 leaves of rejected manuscript written (as internal evidence shows) in 1915 and representing his first essays towards the "Speculations" which form the bulk of his book. These tentative fragments—for they are short and discontinuous, the folio-numbers running from 1 to 176 with many gaps—do not add much to our knowledge. There is, however, one passage (173-176) which, though its general tenor will be familiar to readers of "Instincts of the Herd," has some novelty. On p. 173 is added in pencil, "Not included in the book." The text follows.

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and a consequently progressive evolution of sympathy and community of feeling is the one method by which perfect solidarity and moral unity can be attained. Complete equality in moral value is the goal of such a progressive development, and if an approach to that is impossible solidarity of a permanent type cannot be reached. There will necessarily be meanwhile a tendency to the obliteration or at any rate a reduction in the reality of the distinctions produced by social segregation.

Germany however is of all civilized states the one in which social segregation is most rigid and most absolute. It was impossible therefore for the natural line of progress in national union to be followed by her. The least relaxation in the moral distinctions which separated her classes was impossible. She therefore had to decline upon a method of securing national unity out of the line indicated by nature and therefore of necessity less efficient and less resistant to disintegration.

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From this moment an element of impermanence is visible in the imposing structure of the German Empire. Forty years of unparalleled success have in no way served to strengthen the weakness at the foundation and have merely increased the weight which is piled upon it. If the analysis of the strength of the gregarious unit attempted here is sound there can be little doubt that after what course no one can tell, sooner or later and whatever be the result of the war, this weakness must bring the whole fabric to the ground. Germany has left the path of evolution, her immense strength will hew for her a road until its sources fail and, staggering and smiting (?) wildly she is brought to the ground.

The rigidity of her social segregation compelled her to seek her sources of national unity in passions of the predaceous type—impulses which potent as they appear to superficial examination, lack the consolidating power of the altruistic motives. She has modelled herself after the wolf pack and has found it fatally easy to teach her citizens the ferocity and greed, the arrogance, the insensitiveness, and the blood lust of the wolf. In this she has been helped by her immense worldly success, by the docility of her people, and possibly by a specific inclination in the desired direction already possessed by them. The last

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point one cannot do more than tentatively suggest; the unsavoury reputation the Prussian soldier has borne for at least a hundred years is some evidence in justification of it.

It may be objected however that the wolf is a genuinely gregarious animal and as such may furnish an ugly but none the less sound example biologically; an aggressively minded nation, frankly predaceous in its ideals could not perhaps choose a better model.

Man however displays so many of the characters of protective as well as of aggressive gregariousness, and is so obviously in his behaviour allied to the sheep, the horse, and the ox as well as to the wolf and the dog that it cannot be supposed that his psychological needs are to be satisfied by the exclusive cultivation of the character of the latter group.

The aggressive gregariousness of the wolf while singularly adapted to the attitude of attack and [*sic*] far from being equally adapted to the defensive. The life of civilized man can never be an unmixed course of aggression; there must be periods of relaxation, of failure, of depression, of the necessity for defence, and for these the wolf ideal provides no resources.

Lupine types of society have existed in the past; they have always been transitory, and however successful they have been in war have tended to be absorbed by the peoples they have con-

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quered and to perish from among the recognizable nations of men.

There is therefore a good deal of evidence that the wolf ideal is not one upon which a permanent society can be founded or one which can yield the forms of national solidarity which are most resistant to disintegration by the checks and disasters from which no human organization however nearly perfect is exempt. The lupine type is so perfectly reproduced in German ideals and behaviour that there can be no question of its being other than an instinctive response. No government however absolute and however fully in possession of all the sources of suggestion could impose an attitude so uniform on a whole people unless the appeal were to a well defined instinctive mechanism from which a constant result was to be obtained.

A somewhat cursory collation of the main MS., that of 1915, with the first edition has revealed a number of places in which it is certain or probable that the print does not represent Trotter's intention, or at least not his original intention. These passages, of no great intrinsic importance, are of interest to the textual critic as illustrating the kinds of error made by typists and compositors, and of the tendency of authors either to overlook the error or to correct it without reference to the MS. I would repeat what I have said elsewhere, that authors hardly ever check their proofs by their MS.; they rely on their memories.

References are to the current (1940) edition, which differs very slightly from that of 1916.

P. 96, l. 7: *expression* is a misprint; both MS. and typescript have *impression*.

P. 97, l. 10: *directly* is a misprint; both MS. and typescript have *direct*.

P. 105, l. 2 ff.: *excluded* is the typist's misreading of *extruded*.



## "INSTINCTS OF THE HERD IN PEACE AND WAR"

- P. 107, l. 11: *experience* (an awkward repetition) is the typist's error for *experiment*.
- P. 114, l. 2 ff.: the MS. is obscured by a transposition, and after the word *philosophy* the typist omitted *of his politics and penetrates even his science to a considerable extent*.
- P. 128, l. 20: the typist omitted *great* before *size*.
- P. 134, l. 16: the typist omitted *real* before *biological*, perhaps by haplography (*real* = *biol*).
- P. 142, l. 16: Trotter wrote *man is acting as a member of a minor herd, as a member*, etc.; the typist omitted *as a member of a minor herd* by homœoarcton.
- P. 167, l. 19: Trotter wrote *are also*. This the typist misread as *make* (in T.'s hand the equations  $m = re$  and  $k = ls$  are not difficult. He writes a good hand, and the number of "minims" is nearly always right; but the minims are very similar). Trotter corrected the typescript with his pen to *are*.
- P. 177, l. 10 ff.: the typist omitted *only* before *reflect*.
- P. 178, l. 2 ff.: Trotter wrote *us thus*, and the typist reproduced it. The page-proofs have *us*. Since the first proof is missing, we cannot be sure whether we are dealing with a misprint or an author's correction.
- P. 188, l. 8 ff.: the typist omitted *grasped* after *consciously*.
- P. 189, l. 13: the typist misread *the political* for *her political*.
- P. 193, l. 3 ff.: the typist wrote *weary* for *wearying*.
- P. 207, last line: Trotter wrote *haslong* with a single stroke of the pen and with an exaggeratedly long *g*. It might have been foreseen that his typist would read *slong* as *slowly*, and accordingly would read *ha* as *has*.

Since, as I have said, the first proof is missing, we are not to draw the conclusion that a typist is more prone to error than a compositor. But she almost certainly *is*; not only because, in general, she is perhaps a less accurate person (though it is well known that she makes a better typist than her brother), but because the compositor, even when he is working a mechanical keyboard, has to work rather slower; that is partly because he has to space his line more precisely, partly because he is aware that the proof will be read (not by the author) word for word with the MS.

## BOOK REVIEWS

**Q CAMP.** An Epitome of Experiences at Hawkspur Camp from 1936 to 1940.  
Edited by Marjorie E. Franklin. *Howard League for Penal Reform*, 1943.  
1s. 6d. net.

We hear a great deal just now about social security in the economic sense. The fact that social significance is a not less important factor in human happiness is borne out by a pamphlet compiled by members of the committee of Q Camps, an organization which exists for training young people and children who present difficulties in social adjustment or behaviour. The pamphlet is a description and assessment of their camp at Hawkspur, where an effort was made "to study and treat anti-social behaviour and maladaptation by environmental and educative means with a scientific seriousness comparable to that used for individual methods of psycho-therapy." Psycho-therapy was, however, provided for cases where it seemed necessary.

The writers of the pamphlet are disarmingly modest in their claims both as to success—for the camp was brought to an untimely end by the war and they have hardly had time to judge results—and as to the originality of their methods. Their scientific seriousness does not seem to have hindered the manifestation to a high degree of certain unscientific qualities of devotion, compassion, and good sense. There is an almost comfortingly old-fashioned ring in the statement that "love was regarded by the leaders as the motive force of their work." "The emergence of a craving to be wanted," says Dr. Glaister in his section of the work, "is neither new nor surprising, but it is none the less important; for though social science has emphasized it, society has for the most part ignored it, and the success of Q camps in applying it has been such as to encourage its wider application."

The Hawkspur camp was for youths (not necessarily lawbreakers) from 16½ to 25. It relied to a great extent on "pioneering" to give the creative urge of its inmates full play and to develop in them a feeling of responsibility to the group, but, as Dr. H. Mannheim remarks, "no exaggerated significance was attached to economic aspects at the expense of an all-round development of personality." Pioneering in the realm of physical activities raised Hawkspur from the level of a camp housed in tents to that of a settlement housed in huts. It was accompanied by pioneering in the realm of government, where every form from anarchy to dictatorship seems at one time or another to have been experienced. This element of experiment in camp life seems to have had educational significance and it is the one that would be most difficult to maintain should Q camps become, as one hopes they may, a national institution.

The pamphlet, which has many authors, is remarkable for its directness and stimulating enthusiasm, although the wartime necessity to condense a book into a few pages and use many abbreviations is rather repellent.

One is left pondering wistfully that delinquency and maladaptation would be nearly unknown if all youth had from the outset the opportunity for creative work and at least a measure of outdoor communal life, but there's the rub. Our civilization and the wealth on which all such admirable experiments must draw for their financing rest on an industrial system in which the essential common man seems to feel himself more and more a cipher, and this is the problem which the social scientist must ultimately tackle.

HELEN JUDD.

## BOOK REVIEWS

A HISTORY OF MAGIC AND EXPERIMENTAL SCIENCE. Vols. III and IV, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries (1934); Vols. V and VI, The Sixteenth Century (1941). By Lynn Thorndike. *Columbia University Press* (O.U.P.), 1934-41. £3 6s. 6d. per volume.

In these four massive volumes Professor Thorndike continues the immense task which he has set himself, of reviewing in minute detail rather than in broad outline the modes of thought associated with magic, alchemy, astrology, and kindred subjects. The first two volumes, covering the first thirteen centuries of the Christian era, were noticed in Vol. XV of this *Review*. In these later centuries the writers falling within the scheme are naturally far more numerous, and he himself notes that the two volumes on the sixteenth century mention 3,000 names, of which 1,200 are those of writers within that period. Four hundred and eighty later writers are quoted for their opinions of the writings analysed.

Professor Thorndike's erudition is astonishing. His survey is based on the examination of the original manuscripts, and he repeatedly corrects errors which have crept into previous accounts of them. He is often critical of Duhem, his principal predecessor in this field. He expresses his thanks to no less than forty-four European libraries for facilities afforded to him, in addition to those of America. The limitation of the field must be emphasized. Although the title names magic and experimental science, and the object is to trace the relations between the two, the amount of space given to the work of the true experimenters, other than alchemists, is disappointingly small. In his desire to remedy the neglect of these writers in Latin on the part of the historians of science, the author is inclined to belittle those who have by common consent been regarded as scientific pioneers. This was noted in his earlier volumes in regard to Roger Bacon; it is still more evident in his treatment of Leonardo da Vinci, Copernicus, and Tycho Brahe. Much is said about their credulity in accepting fables common to the time, and about their mistakes, mostly copied from earlier writers, but their real achievements are passed over with little notice. Even Leonardo's inventions of machines are said to continue the technological tradition of previous centuries. Several accounts of mechanical devices are indeed mentioned as occurring in German and Italian works before Leonardo, and a comparative study of these would have some interest, as would a more detailed examination of the designers and constructors of instruments who are said to have preceded Regiomontanus. Of the *Pirotechnia* of Biringuccio (1540), Professor Thorndike says: "In general the book impressed me as a sixteenth-century version in Italian of what one might find in Latin works of the three previous centuries." A search through all the references to the smelting of metals in these volumes affords no support for this surprising statement. It happens that an admirable English translation of Biringuccio's work has just been published in America. It is clear that the Italian author, a skilled craftsman who had travelled widely, was writing of what he knew and understood. Except in one chapter on gems, he shows a most healthy scepticism of statements by men without practical knowledge and of the preposterous claims of the alchemists. He was not an original thinker, but his accounts of the metallurgical arts as they were actually practised are in refreshing contrast to the turgid nonsense of most of the authors cited in this immense treatise. The other famous writer on metallurgy, Agricola, is only mentioned in passing, and while speculative writers on

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medicine receive full notice, a real scientific worker like Ambroise Paré is not discussed.

It need hardly be said that many of the chapters provide most interesting and occasionally entertaining reading. Here only one instance can be mentioned. The "Indian rope trick" has been reported innumerable times at third or fourth hand, and has been traced to eighteenth-century travellers in China. One is surprised to find that Nicolas Oresme, who died in 1342 as Bishop of Lisieux, and exhibited in several respects a sound scepticism about magic, records that a man claimed to him to have seen the trick performed, presumably in France. Oresme concludes that the man was lying.

The impression produced on a sociologically-minded reader by the long catalogue of writers in Latin over these three centuries is a rather melancholy one. So much learning and ingenuity were devoted to fantastic speculations and to endless controversies as to the interpretation of classical writings, with so small a net result and so little evidence of steady progress. The alchemists, it is true, accumulated an empirical knowledge of the properties of acids, earths, etc., and the needs of astrology led to the construction of astronomical tables, but these provide the raw material of science and are not science itself. In spite of Professor Thorndike's argument that historians of science are apt to pick out only those threads in medieval and later thought which appeal to them, and his scornful description of the view that towards the end of the fifteenth century arts and sciences revived after centuries of decline and neglect, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that the conventional view has much in its favour. The writings of the scientific pioneers of the fifteenth century still contain much dross, but the emergence of a new mode of thought, basing itself on experience and not on authority, is unmistakable, and foreshadows the triumphs of the seventeenth century.

It may seem ungracious to write in this way of a work of such immense learning. Students of the intellectual development to the time of the Renaissance will find the treatise indispensable. The task of investigating *why* the energies of thinkers were so long directed into such unprofitable channels remains for some sociological interpreter of history, who will here find the materials set forth with full authority for every statement. For this one must be grateful to Professor Thorndike. One cannot, however, echo his wish that many new workers may be stimulated to enter the field. The exhaustive search made by the author does not seem to have revealed any previously unknown writer who contributed anything to the development of experimental science. The list of possible anticipations of modern scientific ideas in the writings of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (IV, 612) is very meagre, and only represents guesses, of which a certain proportion might be expected to prove right. Long before the close of the period dealt with, magic and its allies had become mere aberrations of the human intellect, and had ceased to contribute to the progress of scientific thought.

C. H. DESCH.

**THE SOCIAL LIFE OF A MODERN COMMUNITY.** By W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt. *Yale University Press (O.U.P.)*, 1941. 24s. net.  
**THE STATUS SYSTEM OF A MODERN COMMUNITY.** By W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt. *Yale University Press (O.U.P.)*, 1942. 18s. 6d. net.

These two books are the first instalment of a voluminous report on an intensive study of social life in a town situated at the mouth of a large river in New



## BOOK REVIEWS

England, which the authors refer to as "Yankee City." Its population is a little over 17,000, and its principal industries are shoemaking and the manufacture of silver ware. At the time these two volumes were written no less than thirty workers had been engaged on the investigation for five years. Four further volumes are to follow these two.

The purpose of the inquiry is quite different from that of the ordinary investigations into social and economic conditions which have been made in many cities. This is quite definitely an anthropological study. Starting from the hypothesis, as stated by Georg Simmel, that "society exists whenever a number of individuals enter into reciprocal relations," the present inquiry was directed to examine what were the reciprocal relations into which the population of "Yankee City" entered and what effects resulted from them. It is clear that even in a small town the number of these is legion, so that it is not surprising to learn that "millions of social facts" were collected in the five years of field work.

The authors of this report divide the population into six classes, according to their social standing. Rather more than half the people are included in the two lower classes, but only 3 per cent. in the two upper ones. Members of each class belong to families, associations, cliques, and other groupings in which they mix only with members of their own class. But they also belong to organizations of one kind or another, such as churches, political associations, business organizations, and a host of others, where they mix with the members of other classes as well as their own. The extent of this intercourse is studied with extraordinary thoroughness with a view to assessing its effect upon the lives of the individuals concerned. Scores of pages are devoted to elaborate tables giving particulars of such matters as the age, sex, nationality, and social class of the members of the 357 associations, along with charts showing how their membership is divided among the different classes. The social characteristics of the people in the different classes are described at great length. One chapter of 77 pages is devoted to imaginary conversations between people in each class. These are based on observations made by researchers in the course of their field work, and are "intended to illustrate how the several social levels appear to the observer and how it feels to live in the class system in 'Yankee City.'" Other chapters enter with minute particularity into such matters (among a host of others) as the kind of books, magazines, and newspapers each class reads, the kind of houses they live in, how they are employed, and how they spend their money. The field study on budgets covered 1,094 families and "was done with a forty-page schedule which was used in most cases."

Space prevents further description of this amazingly detailed inquiry. It only remains to assess the value of the results obtained. Has it added new and valuable knowledge about the influences which determine the character and quality of the social life of a community? Will it guide social reformers? Quite frankly the answer to both questions is that it will do so only very slightly. First, because results of the inquiry and the methods used "are expressions of the partly tested hypothesis that social phenomena are capable of the same general treatment by all the scientific operations used on other natural phenomena." The justification for such belief is extremely doubtful. We are dealing here with the effect of reciprocal relations between human beings, not with chemical reagents. Second, because even if full reliance could be placed on the conclusions, they themselves do not appear to be illuminating.

B. S. ROWNTREE.

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POPULATION, a Problem for Democracy. By Gunnar Myrdal. *Harvard University Press*, 1940.

In these most inspiring lectures given at Harvard University in the spring of 1938 the author has viewed the modern population problem very much as it has appeared on the Swedish horizon, where for various reasons it has reached an earlier actuality than in the United States but has kept the general perspective of western democratic industrial society in mind. "At present the practical problem in western countries is not, as it was a hundred years ago, the inevitable pressure of population against the limits of the available means of subsistence, nor, as it was fifty years ago, how to substitute birth control for vice and misery as checks on population growth. To-day the problem is how to get a people to abstain from not reproducing itself." His analysis of the political obstacles to the inauguration of a positive population policy in England is of particular interest. The type of persons making liberal opinion articulate is still to a very great extent dominated by neo-Malthusianism. As long as progressives are forced to struggle against strong conservative social conventions—and even legal restrictions—in order to spread birth control among the poorer classes and among exhausted mothers, neo-Malthusian ideology retains a vigour which it otherwise long ago would have lost. The progressives, therefore, are not yet prepared to take the initiative in a positive policy. But neither will the conservatives take a strong initiative, as they realize that a positive population policy in modern society would mean social reforms and be a heavy drain upon the public treasury. Moreover, according to old tradition, and without much reflexion, unemployment is linked with the somewhat obscure concept of "overpopulation," and it is thus being urged that a diminution of population is desirable from the economic point of view.

In Sweden, on the other hand, birth control is generally considered as the prime condition for a population policy which could be effective under modern conditions. "The principle of voluntary parenthood was laid down as the basis of our new population policy, and it was made clear that it was neither possible nor desirable to keep up the birth-rate by holding poor people in ignorance about birth control; instead, the economic, social, and political hindrances to child-bearing ought to be removed throughout society."

As regards the optimum population theory, the author rightly says that it is a speculative figment of the mind without much connexion with this world; it does not give any guiding rule for the practical and political judgement of reality. "Actually, the theory has mostly been utilized to furnish a broad and vague foundation for the opinion that the level of living should be higher with a smaller population." But only as long as the main cause—and justification—for common poverty could be assumed to be scarcity, scarcity of natural resources and capital, was it natural to believe that a decline of population would decrease this scarcity and raise standards of living.

Myrdal reaches the conclusion that for western civilization it is probable that a higher average standard of living may be attained with a stationary rather than with a declining population; a progressive population is entirely out of the question, and in the western world has, therefore, only an historical and academic interest.

The author gave the lectures before the outbreak of this war. But to study them carefully is now more important than ever. The aim upon which popu-

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lation policy in every large country in the western world is compelled to direct all its efforts is a stationary population, and the prevention of a too heavy population decline prior to the attainment of a stationary level. The inescapable demographic effects of the war will render this task more difficult still.

R. R. KUCZYNSKI.

APPLIED GENERAL STATISTICS. By Frederick E. Croxton and Dudley J. Cowden. *Pitman*, 1942. 25s. net.

When one opens this book and compares it with an early textbook on the subject, such as Professor Bowley's *Elements of Statistics* or an early edition of Mr. Yule's *Introduction to the Theory of Statistics*, one is impressed by the growth of statistical science during the last twenty years. Most of the advances that have been made have been in the theory of small sampling, and in the development of the analysis of variance, and they have apparently reached the stage when they can be put forward to the general reader who has no special mathematical knowledge. The book under review, written by two American professors, differs from other contemporary textbooks on the subject in its comprehensiveness. There is no paper shortage as yet in the United States, and the two authors can therefore adopt a leisurely approach and treat in great detail the various problems that crop up. Elementary points, such as the collection and tabulation of data, are discussed very thoroughly, and the reader is then introduced to the simpler measures of central tendency, dispersion, and skewness. More than one-quarter of the book is devoted to these topics. We are then led on to a discussion of the reliability of some of these measures in sampling, and the authors explain the simpler tests of significance for large samples, and explain the adjustments that must be made when the samples are small. The *t* test, the *z* test, and the chi-square test are mentioned and their application is illustrated by many examples. Some readers may find the transition from the simple calculation of averages to rather complicated sampling concepts a little abrupt and difficult. The authors might also have stressed rather more than they do the necessity for caution in the application of the more refined statistical tests to social statistics.

There follows a fairly exhaustive treatment of the elementary theory of time series, including the measurement of trends, seasonal movements, and cyclical fluctuations. Index-numbers are also treated here, though the authors nowhere mention the work that has been done on the economic theory of price index numbers, but content themselves with a merely statistical approach. The discussion of examples of index-numbers will be of interest mainly to American students.

Finally, there are a number of chapters on correlation, including the correlation of time series. The various measures of correlation are explained and some space is devoted to partial and multiple correlation coefficients. There is a mathematical appendix, a glossary of terms of formulæ, and last, but not least, there is a large number of tables of the various statistical functions, and of five-figure logarithms, which is not the least useful part of the book.

The work will be of interest to the economist and sociologist who is interested in the modern development of statistical methods, but who feels that most of the modern works have been addressed to the agricultural experimenter or the biologist. The examples given in this book are largely drawn from economics

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and sociology, and the reader who perseveres to the end will probably find that he has a fairly good idea of what modern statistics is about. There are, however, some omissions. Little is said about statistics of population, and no mention is made of interpolation. Both these subjects are of interest to workers in the social sciences, and short sections dealing with these matters might be added to any future editions of this work, at the cost, perhaps, of some of the unnecessarily detailed discussion of index-numbers.

E. GREBENIK.

AN INTRODUCTION TO SOCIOLOGY. By L. L. Bernard. *T. Crowell*, 1942. \$3.75 net.

The title raises hopes; there is room for a good introductory textbook which could be placed in the hands of beginners. Not that textbooks are lacking: Professor Bernard lists some twenty-five which have titles much like that of his book; but none of them gives us quite what is wanted.

What can be reasonably asked of a book which claims to be an introduction to sociology? Different persons would give different answers; but I think that most sociologists would agree that there should be some discussion of what sociology is, some discussion of its distinctive methods, and some history of the science and indication of the contributions of the great sociologists of the past. Then one would expect an account of the elements of social structure and of their interplay, and a similar account of social change. There should be a fair amount of illustrative material. The student should be left with an elementary knowledge of the tasks, the tools, and of the major achievements of the science.

A glance at the Contents table shows that Professor Bernard has covered part of this ground very fully. He deals in successive groups of chapters with physical, biological, psychological, cultural, and social structures, processes, organizations, and controls. There is much in his detailed treatment which is debatable, but the scheme is clear and good.

And yet I find the book unsatisfactory in a number of ways. It is too long, quite unnecessarily long. It is overweighted with illustrative material. And there is a good deal which does not really illustrate and does not really belong to sociology. Three pages are devoted to describing the evolution of backbone, spinal cord, and brain. It seems to me that one can become a good sociologist without having this information. Two pages tell us that the former widespread belief in astrology was based on error; the two pages might have been cut out with advantage. Sometimes the illustrations and the discussion are from too narrow a field, as in the chapter on "Social Control through Political Organization," which deals almost exclusively with modern democracies, especially the U.S.A. And a great deal of what Professor Bernard gives us is history of various kinds, and history is only the raw material of sociology.

The history which Professor Bernard might legitimately have given us, and has not given us, is the history of sociology. There is, it is true, a discussion of the relation of sociology to the special social sciences. But of the great masters Professor Bernard seems to take small account. It is certainly strange that in an Introduction to Sociology, running to over a thousand pages, and finding room for much which is very loosely connected with sociology, there is no mention of Le Play, Durkheim, Freud, Marx, or Max Weber.

All the above is, I think, legitimate complaint in which a large number of



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readers of the book will concur. When it comes to the particular handling of particular sociological themes, it is much more a question of one school of thought against another school of thought, one individual view as against another individual view, one use of technical terms as against another use of technical terms. I do not like Professor Bernard's treatment of the instinctivist controversy; it seems to me much inferior to the recent treatment of the subject by Professor Woodworth. It may be due to the difference between American and English diction, but it does not help me to be told that blackguardism and hard-boiledness are among the more common unfriendly emotions. I do not think it an adequate definition of a social institution to say that it is a persisting culture pattern; and I do not think that one should write, as Professor Bernard does, of an institution having a membership. Nor do I think it a useful definition of religion which makes it cover, as Professor Bernard makes it cover, trade unionism, monogamy, and free love.

Of course, there is a great deal that is useful in this book. Professor Bernard is at his best in discussing the various kinds of environments and their effects on human societies, and he makes a particularly useful distinction between short-term and long-term adjustment. There is much else in his book which is fresh and stimulating. The format and the pictorial illustrations are good. And yet the book is disappointing as a whole, too discursive, and not fine enough in its analysis. It is not the introductory textbook for which we have hoped and must still hope.

H. A. MESS.

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